

GENDER IDENTITY AND SPEECH

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DECLARATION

This thesis has been composed by myself and the work is my own

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SUMMARY

Chapter 1 describes and assesses the research carried out using a "sex differences" and a sociolinguistic approach to the study of the speech styles of women and men. The results of these studies show some consistent patterns but overall the two main problems are the lack of consideration of social context and the assumption of women and men as homogeneous groups. Chapter 2 outlines a social psychological approach and argues that social identity must be taken into account when investigating gender and speech.

Using this social psychological framework chapter 3 uses Q sort methodology to investigate the gender identities of a group of women lawyers. The ten resulting identity perspectives are interpreted in terms of Tajfel and Turner's taxonomy of belief structures. A second Q sort study to investigate speech is described in chapter 4. The eight speech factors are discussed in accordance with Giles' Speech Accommodation Theory to see whether any strategies can be characterised in terms of convergence or divergence. The question of whether there is a consistent relation between gender identity and speech is answered in chapter 5, which shows that there is some correspondence, but not as predicted by Giles.

Social representations and a recently developed form of analysis using the concept of linguistic repertoires are outlined in chapter 6. Linguistic repertoires are used as a framework in chapter 7 which describes an analysis of the accounting systems of the women lawyers and some of their male colleagues. This chapter investigates interviews with the women lawyers in greater depth and examines the inconsistencies arising within the accounts. The conclusion discusses the methodological and theoretical complications involved in the study of gender identity and speech and argues for further studies to adopt an analysis that is flexible and treats identity as a dynamic system and not a set of fixed categories with consistent corresponding speech strategies. In addition any analysis should allow for consideration of the ideological function served by accounting systems.

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Simply this
that words not only
tell

but are part of
change are
weapons to
strengthen a case

my words she thought
were once
emeralds pearls
diamonds
my thoughts become
precise material
precious

now they are forceps
files hammers.

Mary Woodward

INTRODUCTION

Over the last twenty years more and more people have become interested in language and gender. This may be considered to be part due to the impact of feminism and the re-emergence of the women's movement through the seventies and eighties which has focused attention on the relations between women and men, and, part due to growing awareness of the impact of language. Language does not just reflect reality, it creates and perpetuates certain values on which this society is based. It can allow us to express our experiences and understandings, similarly it can limit, deny and silence. By studying language structure it is possible to see which images and elements are perceived as being important in our society. On the other hand by studying language use it is possible to find out about social organisation, for example which linguistic strategies are used to

maintain superiority and how language can be an important part in forming and communicating group identity.

Groups who are seeking social change have realised the power of language and are now adopting language for their own use, selecting linguistic strategies to challenge their oppression. Jewish groups are challenging the anti-semitic jokes and pointing out that they are not just "harmless fun", Welsh nationalist groups are stressing the importance of retaining Welsh as a "living" language. Lesbians are reclaiming and re-defining such labels as "dyke" and "lesbian" and giving these words, commonly used as insults, the positive connotations of strength, independence and warmth of women loving women.

The recent increase in publications of the writings of black groups has meant that their experiences are now heard. Their demands that these experiences are not evaluated in terms of their deviation from "white" writings but in their own right has meant that white readers now have to question their racism and move away from seeing "colour" as being the problem. Adrienne Rich describing her discovery of black novelists and poets, speaks of their meaning for her as a white teacher.

"For many white teachers, the black writers were a relatively new discovery.....In this discovery of a previously submerged culture we were learning from and with our students as rarely happens in the university, though it is happening anew in the area of women's studies. We were not merely exploring a literature and a history which had gone virtually unmentioned in our white educations (particularly true for those over thirty) ; we were not merely having to confront in talk with our students and in their writings, as well as the books we read, the bitter reality of Western racism.... our white liberal assumptions were shaken, our vision of both the city and the university changed, our relationship to language itself made both deeper and more painful".

Adrienne Rich 1972

Another issue of fundamental concern to language and social relations is that of the relation of different groups to the production of meaning. Again Adrienne Rich gives an example of classist assumptions in the dominant view of what constitutes "classic literature" and questions the "universal" themes and issues dealt with by the "classics". She speaks of the meaning of the classics for different groups of students. She first describes "City college undergraduates":-

"The student who leaves the campus at three o'clock or four o'clock after a day of classes, goes to work as a waitress, or clerk, or hash-slinger, or guard, comes home at ten or eleven o'clock to a crowded apartment with TV audible in every corner- what does it feel to this student to be reading, say Byron's "Don Juan" or Jane Austen for a class the next day?

These students are compared with Columbia College undergraduates with....

"their quadrangle of grey stone dormitories, marble steps, flowered borders, widespases of time and architecture in which to talk and think"

and she asks, "Do "motivation" and "intellectual competency" MEAN the same for these two groups of students? Here, obviously, it is essential to consider who defines being "educated" or what is meant by "intelligence" and whose definitions and evaluations are the accepted ones in our society.

It is impossible to talk about different language uses without also talking about power, ie that some people through their membership of certain groups in this society have more power to assert their meanings and evaluations than others. This can be seen and understood on different levels. At one level it is clear that certain ideas, opinions and evaluations are generally accepted as being "truer" perceptions of reality than others,

eg it is more generally accepted in this society that thunder is a result of pressures in the atmosphere rather than the goddess venting her fury. The first reason or explanation is a product of dominant ideology which in our society favours scientific explanations over alternative explanations.

At another level it can be seen that mediums which allow communication of ideas and opinions, for example publishing houses, newspapers, films, television are owned and controlled by certain groups and therefore these groups have access to the means to putting over and perpetuating the interests and the views of their own group over others' views. The people who are in control of these networks are few and extremely powerful, not representative of a wide section of the population. For a start they are men.

Third, in terms of social interaction certain speech styles, in particular specific speech characteristics, for example interruptions and monologues are a means of controlling the conversation and can be used by those in a powerful position to ensure that their voices and opinions are the ones that are expressed, heard and circulated, which is another means of getting certain ideas accepted as the "dominant" ideas at that time. This thesis will deal with the idea of speech styles and go on to consider how certain representations are maintained and perpetuated which results in a continuation of the status quo.

As feminist thought and action has developed, many women have begun to examine written and spoken language and seen how women have been silenced, belittled, negated. While it has been important to document the ways in which this has happened, what is needed now is an understanding of the process by which this occurs, in order to see how this situation can

and is being challenged, and the linguistic strategies being adopted to move towards change.

Some women have claimed that language can be considered "man made", that in the existing social structure men are in a powerful position relative to women and therefore they have made up the linguistic rules which ensure that it is men's meanings and voices that have been heard.(Spender 1980)

Other feminists agree with Spender's description of the situation but disagree with her explanation. They say that it is not such a clear cut case of men making up the rules because some men share women's definitions of certain experiences. They argue that this view implies that language is simply a tool for representing the "truth" and argue instead that language is an entity in itself and plays its part in creating what we each understand as reality. This view is expressed clearly by Dorothy Smith,

"Language is not a limpid pool through which the truth may be glimpsed, but a way of representing, a vehicle for discourses and "ideology".

Dorothy Smith 1974

Taking this view of language Coward and Black argue that where women's experiences are left unexpressed or denied, the problem lies with "cultural discourses", which they define as

"historically evolved ways of representing things which define the nature and limits of masculinity and femininity".

Rosalind Coward and Maria Black 1981

So they argue that it is not the case that men have set up rules which

have denied women expression and reflected only their own (men's) experiences and values, and denied women expression, but that the so called "women's voice" is concerned with discourse which does not endorse traditional views and values, is not included in dominant ideology.

While it is clear that men are in the powerful positions and have more means of communication at hand, the equation is not simply that men control language and that the solution is for women to create their own language. Instead they argue that change will be achieved by challenging the dominant "cultural discourses".(Coward and Black 1981) It is important to understand these distinctions in the understanding of linguistic and social processes as they imply different action for change.

These different assumptions are embodied in the research that has examined women's relation to language and language change. An example might help here. Spender speaks of women's experience of childbirth as having connotations of fear and pain as well as satisfaction. She contrasts this with men's definition which she sees as emphasising childbirth as being woman's ultimate fulfilment and denying or ignoring any negative experiences. She concludes that women must create and state their meanings and understandings to change this situation. Coward and Black on the other hand, believe that some men are aware of the negative emotions experienced by women in childbirth, for example some men who are present at the birth or some doctors, who witness women's reactions. So it is not the case that all men share the meaning of childbirth being wonderful, in contrast to women's mixed experiences, instead this one-sided rosy representation is a product of dominant ideology. Therefore they argue that change will come through an awareness of these different representations how they are maintained and what function they serve.

Once this process is clear it should be possible to create adequate representations which people can incorporate into their perspective of reality.

Before beginning an examination of research that has looked at these and other issues concerned with language and gender it seems a good idea to begin on an optimistic note and mention just a few ways in which the status quo is being challenged. There are many strategies being adopted at all different levels. In 1895 Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote "The Woman's Bible" in which she returned to the original texts and revised the parts which devalued or left out women. She did this in the belief that while the deity had created human beings of equal value, the theologians were responsible for rewriting the bible in their terms so that the bible had become a book in which women were held in contempt. She comments

"The Bible teaches that women brought sin and death into the world, that she precipitated the fall of the race, that she was arraigned before the judgement seat of Heaven, tried, condemned and sentenced. Marriage for her was to be a condition of bondage, maternity a period of suffering and anguish, and in silence and subjection she was to play the role of a dependent on man's brutality for all her material wants, and for all the information she might desire on the questions of the horror, she was condemned to ask her husband at home. Here is the Bible position briefly summed up".

Elizabeth Cady-Stanton 1895

This enterprise would seem to be a good example of a strategy of re-definition, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's direct challenge to the male theologians whom she saw as imposing their definitions on women.

A second example that will be given here of ways in which women are adopting linguistic strategies to change the social structure is of women

getting involved in the process of film making. A film made recently (1984) by an all women camera crew called "Lass Tak di Sok" was made to record the experiences and history of women living in the Shetlands. This film takes as it's starting point a frieze in a local school of the lives of Shetlanders which portrays men fishing, fighting, and farming amongst other activities, but has forgotten women. Using interviews as a framework, this film records the part that women have played in the industries from gutting the fish, shearing sheep, running shops and farms to knitting, the main industry which is completely missed out by the frieze. In all senses this film stands as an example of the way women's experiences, previously ignored by the generally all male film makers who appear to only value men's work as important and worth being recorded, must be re-explored and charted. When this is done the richness of the newfound knowledge is clear.

The principles on which this film was made are interesting as well. There was a fundamental aim shared by the women making the film that the Shetland women should be able to recount what THEY saw as being important, and in the way THEY chose to recount it rather than having a predetermined film script with "commentary" on the women's lives from their (the film makers) perspective. Thus in order to get as close to this aim as possible they spent a considerable amount of time in Shetland, living there, as they believed that the women would only speak and relate their experiences if they were known and trusted by the Shetland women. As a result there was close collaboration between the groups of women, some of the Shetland women becoming involved in the process of making the film itself which I believe comes across in the finished version. This example relates back to the point namely that part of women's silence is a

result of media networks being male dominated. There is obviously a need not only for more women to enter these areas, but also to consider alternative principles which let women speak in their own words of the experiences that they consider important.

Over the last few years there have been several films emerging which have been called "feminist" films in that their portrayal of women appears to challenge the traditional, stereotypical image of women. In another film "A Question of Silence" directed by Marleen Gorris (1982), one of the central issues concerns the various discourses open to women. The focus is on three women who are convicted of a murder, in all senses they can only be seen as "ordinary" women by the all male court authorities who cannot understand what led them to commit the crime. The fourth woman at the centre of this film is a psychiatrist, working successfully in a man's world and taking on all the dominant representations and values of the medical profession. She starts off unable to understand the three women but as she gets to know and speak to the women she becomes aware of the alternative realities of the three women and has to confront her own perspective. Finally, she has to make the decision as to which "version of reality" she is going to accept which has huge implications for the way she will continue her life from then on. The conflict between the discourses is blatant in the final courtroom scene where the women's strategy is one of silence and laughter, in the face of the "rational" male lawyers non-comprehension and empty questioning. In many ways this film can be understood as presenting the viewer with alternative discourses, giving an awareness of the different implications and evaluations of these discourses in a way suggested as being the way forward by Coward and Black.

In terms of actual speech styles, the structure of consciousness raising

groups can be seen as a strategy adopted by feminists to counter articulate women (educated and middle class) taking up too much speaking room. The shared agreement is that participants will not silence others by interrupting, shouting down or competing for speaking time. Deborah Cameron (1985) cites comments made by women about this conversation structure to illustrate that this is not always easy nor does it come "naturally" to all women.

"It struck me the minute we started, all the silence and letting people finish".

"I had a lot of trouble not interrupting, I felt everyone was thinking I couldn't keep my mouth shut".

Instead this alternative conversation structure can be seen as being set up as a feminist norm and a strategy to enable those to be heard who could otherwise be silenced.

Women adopting these strategies share the incentive of wanting a change as regards the inequalities in the positions of women and men in the social structure, and language is a focus for attaining change. Obviously, up to this point the definition of language has been broad, examples of the oppression of women have drawn on written and spoken language, meaning and style. While I believe that the most adequate understanding of language in relation to social structure will come from a multidisciplinary approach, it is not possible for this thesis to consider all aspects of language in it's relation to women and men, nor even all different approaches adopted in the research. At the same time it is hoped that the particular investigation in this thesis can and will be related into

other more general strategies and seen together with them, rather than being seen as an isolated and unrelated study.

My aim and main interest in writing this thesis is to examine the discourses produced by women and, in particular, what public and private identities women embrace as alternatives to previous social and personal definitions of women. Some of the questions I wish to consider are, how do women describe their experience and social reality so that they can make sense of it, not only in terms of what is, but also whether they think this can be changed, whether change is desirable, how this can be achieved and the speech strategies that they see as being available in order to attain this change.

To state where the boundaries will be drawn in this thesis, the focus will be on aspects of spoken language, in particular different speech styles. The perspective adopted will be a feminist one as I believe this will provide the most acceptable analysis of social relations. As regards the specific relationship between speech and gender it would be expected that social psychology might provide an adequate framework for this enquiry and therefore several theories which come from this approach will be examined. Unfortunately much work within psychology which touches on this area has reinforced the status quo and has played its own part in maintaining the oppression and bias against women. This is unsurprising considering that psychologists are as immersed as anyone else in the dominant value system and have, in most cases simply taken their assumptions and biases and uncritically reproduced them in their research hypotheses. In order to provide a sufficient background to show where my research "fits in" with other research in this area, but, hopefully provides a more adequate analysis of gender and speech, some of the previous research in this area will be

described.

Specifically the structure of this thesis will be as follows. The first chapter will concern itself with a review of linguistic and sociolinguistic research and argue that these approaches are not only sexist in themselves but are severely limited both theoretically and methodologically. Chapter two will describe social psychological research, in particular intergroup theory which overcomes some of the problems of the previous approaches and provides a framework for the examination of the relation between social identity and speech. This general theory will provide a starting point for my own research with a group of lawyers which is described in chapter three. This chapter uses Q sort methodology to investigate the identity perspectives of a group of forty women lawyers. Chapter four uses this same methodology in investigating the lawyers proposed speech strategies in the context of their interaction with a client. Chapter five draws together these two Q sort studies and answers the question, is there a consistent relationship between gender identity and speech in this context? Chapter six describes a recently developed analysis based on the concepts of social representations and linguistic repertoires which is used in chapter seven to investigate the interviews in greater depth and examine the different discourses or repertoires concerning identity and speech which are drawn on by the respondents and the use to which they are put.

THE INTEREST IN SEX DIFFERENCES

In this first chapter an outline will be given of the way interest in this area began and has grown over the years. The general approaches will be described and an attempt will be made to draw out the assumptions and implications behind the research both in terms of language and social relations.

It would seem that research began as early as 1915 when Sapir reported anthropological research on sex differences in language and reported women's speech as "abnormal". By 1922 Jespersen, in his book "Language, It's Nature, Development and Origin", reviewed cross-cultural reports and devoted a whole chapter of his book to speculations about western women's speech as compared to men's. He suggested that it was not sufficient to list the inadequacies of women's speech as compared to this male norm, but also necessary to protect the language from women because of their debilitating effect on it.

Further considerations that women and men might speak in different ways, with the emphasis remaining that women "deviated from the norm" came from the discipline of linguistics where gradually it was noticed that the general linguistic "rules" drawn up did not reflect the way women used language, therefore sex was introduced as a variable and the search began for differences in such areas as word choice, pronunciations, pitch and intonation.

The re-emergence of the Women's movement through the sixties, led to some researchers retracing and re-working this area of study. This first

chapter will examine research which was mainly carried out using a linguistic and sociolinguistic approach and will do this by considering the broad categories of pronunciation and grammatical form, pitch and intonation, vocabulary and word choice, speech style and speech characteristics.

PRONUNCIATION AND GRAMMATICAL FORM

Most studies that have been carried out on pronunciation are grounded in linguistics and anthropological disciplines. Most of the early descriptions of language and gender refer to Asian, African, American and Australian languages rather than European. This is essentially because the initial concern was with sex-exclusive differentiation, which is uncommon in European languages. This refers to certain linguistic forms which are used only when speaking to a man or a woman. (Bodine 1973) In Europe forms can best be called sex preferential, where any differences lie in frequency of occurrence. Bodine points out in her survey that generally these early linguists ignored the evidence of sex-preferential forms in their own languages and simply assumed that women spoke differently, generally equating "men's language" with "the" language.

Bodine's review is useful as it categorises pronunciation differences in the speech of women and men into three groups. The first category is where one sex does not use one or more speech sounds that the other uses. The second where both sexes use the same number of speech sounds with the same position of articulation for each, but for one or more sounds the manner of articulation is different for women and men. The third is where both sexes use the same number of speech sounds with approximately the same manner of articulation but for one or more sounds

the position of articulation is different for women and men. Examples are given for each of these groups.

To take the first group, Chukchi, a Siberian language is given as an example where male speakers often dropped consonants such as /n/ and /t/ when they occurred between vowels. Another example is Caraya where men used longer forms than women. (Ehrenreich and Krause 1912 as reported by Chamberlain 1912) Finally, in some native Muskogean languages men often add a final /S/ to words. (Haas 1944)

As regards the second group examples are given again of Koasati by (Haas 1944) where women's final /l/ or /n/ correspond to men's final /s/ and Bengali, where women's initial /n/ corresponds to men's initial /h/ (Chatterji 1921) In Eskimo men's oral stops correspond to women's nasals, with the same position of articulation (Egede 1818, reported in Frazer 1900) Finally for examples of the third group, Bodine lists Zuni where women's /ty/ and /č/ correspond to men's /ky/ (Bunzel 1933-1938) and in American Indian Gros Ventre language women pronounce the male /tz/ /dj/ and /ty/ as /k/ and /ky/. (Flannery 1946)

Basically to summarise this survey, in any language, pronunciation differences are small, yet in some languages these differences although small act to serve as constant markers of sex. Before moving on to a description of European languages it is important to note two points. First, these studies fail to discuss the social implications of these differences, and, second, ethnographers tend to identify with the male speakers and are likely to be giving a biased account of these differences. To illustrate this second point it is useful to consider the explanations that are given for these differences ie who decides what these differences mean and whose

meanings are generally accepted. This takes us back to the initial points raised in this thesis. Deborah Cameron gives the example of the pronunciation differences in the speech of the Carib Indians to illustrate this point (Cameron 1985).

It was apparently reported by missionaries as early as 1665 that women and men used different phonologies. They gave the explanation that the Arawak tribe who had invaded this island had killed the male Caribs but let the women live for reproductive purposes. The men and women kept the languages they had spoken originally with fathers teaching Arawak to their sons and mothers passing on Carib to their daughters.

This explanation was changed by later linguists who chose to produce an account that relied instead on gender roles rather than biological sex. Researchers focused on the gender-based division of labour and therefore argued that differences were due to the different forms of labour performed by women and men. This became elaborated by Jespersens's description of the "primitive society" where he refers to the men as hunters developing an economic, abbreviated form to help coordinate activity, while women retained the more expressive, complete forms as they "indulged in their idle chatter at home". The sexist evaluations are obvious, it is interesting to see that Jespersens emphasis on role differentiation has become widely adopted in sociolinguistic explanations.

To move on to studies that have examined pronunciation differences in the English language, it should be noted as an initial point that most of these studies support the basic difference that women usually use more standard or correct pronunciations. Fischer in his studies with children showed that girls pronounced verb endings /ing/ for example dancing,

talking, more frequently than boys who use /in/ more often, for example playin, sittin. (Fischer 1958) These results have been supported by later studies with adult speakers (Trudgill 1975) and in the States (Anshen 1969, Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967 and Wolfram 1969). It has also been found that women use the standard sound when speaking the interdental voiced fricative /th/ while men reduce or alter it.

Other research has looked at nasal vowels which are not considered "correct" and found that they are used more by men than by women. (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967) and at "uh" versus "er" endings (Levine and Crockett 1966, Wolfram 1969) and shown that black women are more likely to use standard forms than black men.

There have been similar findings concerning multiple negation (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967). Garvey and Dickstein (1972) noted more nonstandard forms in the speech of boys than girls. Other research carried out by Labov (1972) has suggested that women use more new linguistic forms in casual speech with men but that they shift their speech to standard forms more sharply in formal settings.

Before dealing with the explanations that have been put forward to explain women's more frequent use of standard forms, the relatively few studies on grammatical form will be mentioned as criticisms of explanations given for these differences are equally applicable to this linguistic category. Overall there have not been many differences found in the grammar of women and men. Cheshire (1978), found that boys used the nonstandard addition of /s/ to the first and second person singular and third person plural verb forms more often than girls. In contrast to this it was found that men reduced or left out final consonant clusters more often than

women for example in saying "she walk" instead of "she walks". (Wolfram 1969) A third difference that has been reported was that men produced multiple negations "We don't have no time" more frequently than women. (Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1967)

Several reasons have been put forward to account for women's closer adherence to what has been called "prestige standard speech". First, Trudgill suggests that it may be the case that men obtain their social standing through what they do rather than what they are, for example through their earnings or occupation. On the other hand women generally achieve status by what they are, how they appear both visually and verbally. In this sense this could be considered an aspect of gender identity – it is "feminine" to "talk like a lady", ie like a middle-class speaker who uses more standard forms. On the other hand it has been suggested that "rougher" language may carry positive connotations with masculinity, for example that there may be hidden values associated with non-standard speech. Labov (1972) speculates that while New York City carries prestige with it's more formal speech styles, this "must have an equal and opposing prestige for informal working-class speech". In this respect the explanation is not consistent as there would be no greater prestige attached to women's use of more standard speech forms.

A second reason that has been put forward is that women may be more conscious of their position in society and therefore may be more aware of the importance of speech in social interaction. Thus women may be using more standard speech to secure their position and show their standing. A third explanation has been put forward that women are more conservative than men. So while men innovate, women stick to the more traditional standard forms.

There are clearly problems with these explanations, as a starting point they are not compatible with each other. For example women can't be conservative and non-innovative holding onto socially established forms AND social climbers who imitate prestige speech and move away from conventional forms in order to elevate their status. Also, the explanations are inadequate in themselves. Why would women be more aware of social norms or why would they be more conservative? Apart from anything else the explanations themselves are biased. To take the "conservative" explanation, in this society people who innovate are valued more highly than those who follow "tradition" thus the explanation implicitly gives men's behaviour greater value.

While it can be concluded that these studies show consistent findings that women use more standard forms than men, the question of whether this is "prestige" speech is more complicated as it involves speaker's evaluations and perceptions (Smith 1985). The term "prestige" when used by sociolinguists can be used to mean the avoidance of stigmatised speech variables or the value of speaking in a particular way for upward social mobility. In many studies sociolinguists have confused these two meanings which raises the question of how standard forms acquire evaluative connotations.

A further problem that occurs here is that while traditional sociolinguistics takes speech as reflecting underlying social reality clearly women are not in a socially prestigious position relative to men although, as seen, they display more standard speech. Linguistic variables that are socially advantageous for one group may not be for another, an evaluation of speech cannot be made independently of the people using that speech form.

A final objection can be made to explanations given to these studies on methodological grounds. Labov's work with Harlem groups is well known particularly for the attention it drew to the importance of decreasing the distance between the interviewer and respondent, ie the awareness that having a white middle class interviewer was unlikely to elicit black vernacular speech. However this precaution has not been extended to gender or consideration that there are likely to be differences in response to a female as compared to a male interviewer.

So, before the conclusion can be drawn that women or men use more prestigious speech, three questions have to be answered. First, is there equal advantage for both sexes in adopting a specific speech style? Second, are the speech variables that are taken as prestigious when used by one sex, similarly valued when the other sex uses those variables and, third is the evaluative criterion used by women in judging what constitutes a prestigious speech form the same as men? At the moment this research raises more questions and creates more problems than it answers. As Deborah Cameron concludes

"It may be interesting to discover the origins and the meanings of differences but difference itself is not the key to women's oppression through language. The key is value judgements, the way differences are perceived, the consequences they have."

Deborah Cameron 1985

PITCH AND INTONATION

Research carried out in Britain and the States comes to the general conclusion that women use a larger range of intonational patterns than men. Further it has been suggested that this intonational variation is

stereotypically associated with femininity. (Smith 1985) However, as with other research that has already been described these studies are essentially descriptive and few attempt to consider why there are these differences. So, to consider some of this research in more detail, Brend (1972) can be turned to as a starting point for a review of much of the literature in this area. Brend lists certain patterns that are shared by the sexes, she states that some patterns seem to be completely lacking from men's speech, while others are differently preferred by women and men.

She suggests that women more often use a more polite pattern of assertive intonation, eg, "Yes, Yes / I know", as contrasted with men's deliberative pattern, eg, "Yes, Yes, / I know". She also points out that women's intonation patterns of unexpectedness or surprise for example, "Oh, that's awful", are either absent from men's speech or used much less often; similarly request confirmation patterns. She also lists hesitation and "polite cheerful" patterns that she believes are only used by women. These assertions concerning women's hesitant intonation patterns are supported by other researchers, for example Pike (1945) who suggests that they may also be used by women to convey endearment, and by Lakoff (1975) who includes deferential and inquisitive intonation as speech characteristics indicative of women's overall "weaker" speech form. (See later sections)

Brend's final conclusion is that men rarely use the highest level of pitch that women use. While women use four levels of intonation, men seem to use only three. This conclusion has been replicated by other researchers. Takefuta, Jancosek and Brunt (1971) asked twelve women and twelve men to read a sentence using as many different intonation patterns that they could think of. They found that women's changes in pitch had a much sharper gradient over the course of the recording than men's, and that the

standard deviation from the mean was over twice the men's mean. Their conclusion was that women showed "greater intonational dynamism". Similar findings were obtained by Elyan in 1978 in a study of female and male students in Bristol; while an analysis of speech in Tyneside showed that women used a larger proportion of rising tones in comparison to men's greater use of falling tones. (Pellowe and Jones 1978)

Methodologically, there is a lot to criticise with these studies. As a starting point most of the early studies are based on the speculations of anthropologists and sociolinguists, such as Jespersen and Lakoff. There is little research which attempts to examine the claims, and those studies which actually examine intonation and pitch are often artificially constructed with the procedure being to count up the number of times each intonation pattern is used by women and by men and no consideration of the ways in which the participants are perceiving the experimental setup or the different ways in which they might be using the different forms.

More recently McConnel-Ginet (1978) has investigated the attributions given to speakers' intonation using a more systematic approach. In this study a matched guise was used. This technique involves the same speaker taking on different "guises", so any differences in listeners' perception or evaluation of the speaker cannot be due differences between speakers. In this study five women and five men were recorded replying to the question "When will dinner be ready?", when it was spoken in either the "high rise" or the "neutral fall" tone. The former is supposedly typical of a woman's response while the latter is held to characterise an assertive completion. Listeners had to rate each voice on sixteen personality scales. It was found that the neutral fall intonation was essentially heard as being more decisive, dominant, assertive and aggressive, all characteristics that

make up the "masculine" stereotype. On the other hand, the "high rise" intonation was rated as being more sympathetic, sociable, hesitant and emotional, all characteristics that make the "feminine" stereotype.

As regards the "masculinity"/"femininity" personality ratings there was considerable flexibility, for example women speakers using a "neutral fall" tone were rated as being more "masculine" than women using "high rise" tone. In this case sex of speaker alone did not rule out the possibility of later attributions being made on the basis of speech. Clearly certain intonation patterns and high pitch in general play as important part in forming the "feminine" stereotype and this has been drawn on and emphasised. High pitch is seen as undesirable as it is associated with timidity and triviality. A conclusion by Eble (1972) describing women's intonation makes this negative evaluation blatant. She suggests that women's predominant use of the extremes of high pitch result in women coming across as whining, questioning and helpless.

While, once again, no attempt is made to consider the process by which certain patterns acquire these connotations of "masculinity" and "femininity", the practical implications of being categorised as "high pitched" are obvious. Kramerae cites a handbook for television announcers which explains why women who were employed during the war were not kept on once men were available again.

"Often the high pitched female voices could not hold listeners attention for any length of time". "Women's delivery... is lacking in the authority needed for a convincing newscast".

Kramarae (1982)

To summarise, once again certain differences are focused on and the

forms associated with women are negatively valued. Pitch appears to play an important part in the stereotype of women's speech regardless of findings that point to the variability of this speech form within gender. This stereotype can be seen to be drawn on frequently in the media, in literature and in cartoons amongst other medium to portray women as silly, girly, overall not to be taken seriously. (Kramer 1974)

VOCABULARY AND WORD CHOICE

Greenough and Kittredge wrote in 1901

"Everyone knows that the vocabulary of women differs considerably from that of men."

Jespersen endorsed this belief adding a strong warning as to what would happen if these supposed differences were ignored.

"There can be no doubt that women exercise a great and universal influence on linguistic development through their instinctive shrinking from coarse and gross expressions and their preference for refined and (in certain spheres) veiled and indirect expressions".

Jespersen 1922

Given these convinced claims it is perhaps surprising that there are not more studies to investigate them.

Some researchers have begun by looking at women and men's use of obscenities. As Haas (1944) notes, swearing is a characteristic present in the male stereotype. On the basis of introspection, Lakoff (1975) maintains that women use weaker profanities relative to men who she claims use stronger expletives, for example "shit" and "damn", in comparison to women's use of "oh dear", "goodness" and "gracious". Lakoff's explanation

for this is that in allowing men stronger means of expression than are open to women reinforces men's position of strength in the real world, as she considers that we pay more attention to a person the more strongly and forcefully they express opinions.

Bailey and Timm (1976) considered women and men of different ages' use of expletives, by presenting brief descriptions of twenty exasperating or painful situations and asking each subject whether they were likely to use each of a selection of swear words in the situation described. The general assertion that men use stronger expletives than women was supported with some differences between age groups. There are obvious limitations with this methodology. Sitting subjects down in a laboratory and expecting them to produce a naturalistic display of obscenities is unrealistic, especially for women for whom swearing is rarely seen as acceptable behaviour. This particular study used very few subjects so the results are not generalisable.

Oliver and Rubin (1975) looked at older as compared with younger women's use of expletives. This study is marginally better thought out as it considers that different perceptions of gender may well affect findings and thus implicitly raises the question of the function played by swear words. They considered that women over forty would be less likely to use strong expletives than younger women and that differences could be affected by whether the woman was married or not and whether that woman considered herself "liberated" or not. They found that single women used expletives more than married women and that women who were working at being "liberated" used more expletives than women who felt completely "liberated". However they still do not make any explicit suggestions as to why this should be so.

An explanation given by Firestone (1970) could fill the gap here. Unlike Jespersen's suggestion that women do not swear instinctively, Firestone points to the unequal power relations as a reason, in a similar way to Lakoff (see above) as well as mentioning the negative consequences for women who do swear.

"As for the double standard about cursing: a man is allowed to blaspheme the world because it belongs to him to damn - but the same curse out of the mouth of a woman or a minor, ie an incomplete "man" to whom the world does not yet belong, is considered presumptuous, and thus an impropriety or worse."

Shulamith Firestone 1970

Other early studies have looked for sex differences in the use of hostile verbs. Buss and Duncanson (1957) found that male subjects emitted more hostile verbs than females and attributed these findings to sex differences in cultural training. However Binder, McConnell and Sjöholm (1957), using a similar task, found no differences. Gilley and Summers (1970) used a sentence construction task and found that males chose to use hostile verbs more often than females. It should be noted here that almost all these studies fail to mention that swearing, hostile verbs, slang and other forms of "strong language", are considered healthy activities when carried out by men.

Some writers and researchers can be seen to almost glorify and praise swearing and slang. For example Jespersen warns

"Men will certainly with great justice object that there is a danger of the language becoming languid and insipid if we are to content ourselves with women's expressions and that vigour and vividness count for something."

Jespersen 1922

More recently Kramerae has pointed out that this double standard still exists. She mentions a construction worker in London who was dismissed because her language was "too strong". In bringing her case to a tribunal she argued that her boss would have tolerated the same language if spoken by a man. She does not add whether the woman won her case or not. (Kramerae 1982) Once again implicit praise is given to this characteristic as it reinforces men as active and innovative.

Consideration of the sex differences in word use has turned to the use of colour terms. Lakoff claimed that women tend to make "meaningless" distinctions with colour terms between, for example, mauve and lavender or beige and ecru. (Lakoff 1975) She considers that this is an example of the non-crucial decisions that women are delegated to make in place of the decisions on important matters which men make.

This area of research has also turned to adjective use in it's search for differences. Lakoff cites "adorable", "divine", "charming", "sweet" and "lovely" as being typical of women's speech but rarely used by men. She suggests that these words make out that the user is frivolous, trivial and unimportant to the world. The final claims made by Lakoff concerning differences in word use between women and men concern qualifiers and intensifiers. Qualifiers are words such as "Maybe", "sort of" "I think" and "I guess" and Lakoff suggests that they are used more by women than by men. Hirschman investigated this suggestion in 1974 supporting Lakoff's speculation that these words show less conversational assertiveness. While there were no striking differences found where hypothesised, it was found that males use "I think", more than women. As for intensifiers, which are words such as "So", "Such" and "Really" ie "This is really boring", it was once again hypothesised that women used these words more than men.

(Farb 1973, Key 1972, Lakoff 1975) While some researchers explain their reason for making this speculation being that women are more expressive (Key 1972) others explain it as being a way of making a tentative rather than an assertive statement (Lakoff 1975) yet despite these varied claims it would appear that little empirical work has followed them up. (A criticism of the overall claims made by Lakoff concerning "genderlects" follows in the "speech style" section below).

A final consideration of differences in word use is seen in an experiment by Swacker in (1975) where subjects were asked to look at pictures and describe what they saw. It was found that there was a number pattern distinction between the sexes. While women often used approximations in their descriptions, for example "about five books" or "six or seven", men responded with exact figures. The interesting point is the interpretation given of this finding. Swacker concludes that this could be cited as an example of men's accuracy but instead she interprets it as showing that "males are preoccupied with verbal tokens of numerical precision and not the precision itself". It is probably immediately noticeable that this is one of the few studies that does not conclude that women's word use is not necessarily inadequate or inferior because it differs from men's.

CONVERSATION TOPIC

This area of study is possibly one where there is the greatest confusion between the differences thought to exist between women and men's speech and actual differences. A study by Kramer (1974) revealed that the stereotypical speech of women and men could be easily identified in cartoons for example men were identified as being male in the cartoons if the conversation was about business, politics, money etc. Her research is

unusual as it makes clear the difference between stereotypes and actual speech.

Most of the studies in this area start with the initial stereotypical assumptions that women's conversations will be concerned with more socially oriented or expressive topics, while men's speech will be about task oriented or instrumental subjects. As regards early research in this area, Moore (1922) recorded 179 conversations in New York city and reported that men speaking to men talked about money and business amusements or sports or other men whereas women talked about men, clothing, decoration and other women. Men spoke to women about amusements or sports and money and business while women talked to men about other men and other women. A study by Landis and Burt (1924) conducted in Ohio, resulted in similar findings to Moores, and in 1927, Landis carried out an analysis of two hundred London conversations and concluded that he had supported earlier findings and in addition noted that women talked about a wider variety of topics. As regards accommodation to conversation topic, findings are inconsistent. In mixed sex conversations in the States, women have been said to accommodate more often to "masculine" topics while in England it has been found that men adapted more to the women. Later studies in this area have extended the original findings. Langer (1970) working with the women of the telephone company found that women avoided religion and politics in their interactions while men discussed politics amongst themselves. Again stereotypical patterns are reinforced but little attempt is made to question or explain these differences further. Other studies have used videotapes of classroom interaction between teachers and students and found that both women and men teachers talked more about men than about women. Finally Vigil and Elsasser (1976)

concluded that the ethnicity of an interviewer affected topic for example Chicana women talked more about sex with an Anglo interviewer than with a Chicana interviewer although they both asked the same questions.

Examination has been made of same sex as compared to mixed sex conversations (Aries 1976). She found that the content differed according to the sex of the participants. Whereas the female groups were distinguished by the topics of self, feelings, affiliation and friendships, home and family, in male groups the topics centred around physical aggression, sports, competition and doing things. In mixed sex groups certain compromises were made as regards topics. Women spoke less about the home and the family and men talked less about competition and aggression. Ayres (1980) similarly studied different groups and found that all groups talked about relationships and schools, while females discussed feelings, appearances and home life more and males discussed work, cars and sport. Aries went on to give a possible explanation for these differences and suggested that speaking openly about oneself makes a person more vulnerable. Hacker (1981) notes certain qualitative differences and comments that in mixed dyads women concealed their strengths, but men hid their weaknesses.

As regards what women and men think the opposite sex like talking about, Komarovsky (1962) found from interviews with blue-collar couples in the States that women said they talked to each other about family and personal matters and complained that their husbands didn't listen or talk enough, while the men said they talked about sport, cars, motorcycles, carpentry and local politics and that their wives gossiped and talked about "silly topics". She concluded that each sex had little to say to each other. Similarly a study by Klein (1971) on miners families in England found that

men talk with men about work and sports but never about their homes or families. In an ethnographic study, Myerhoff (1980) worked with a community of Jews living in California. She describes the men as talking generally about politics religion and economics which she calls "abstract, ideological concerns" while women spoke about immediate personal matters ie children, scandals, health, food and managing. Both women and men talked about being Jews and about Israel and the Senior Citizens Centre.

The explanation for these sex differences in topic is said to be due to socialisation of girls and boys into traditional sex roles. As women are mainly responsible for childcare their conversation is about domestic topics, children and running the home. On the other hand men's conversation is more centred around work and "the outside world". Little consideration is given to the value placed on these different topics, women are said to gossip about "dirty diaper stuff" (Komorovsky 1962), while men deal with and discuss important matters. The implicit suggestion in many of the studies that it is women's nature, or that women are essentially more interested in such topics, remains unquestioned.

SPEECH STYLE

Most of the work within this section has come from the discipline of sociolinguistics as compared to earlier sections where most research was from a linguistic or sex differences approach. The recent development of the study of sociolinguistics is an example of an attempt to study language production together with an understanding of the social context of language differences which goes beyond the immediate structure of communicative events and studies the underlying social structure. Thus, an attempt is made to break down the traditional distinctions between linguistics and

social psychology. A great deal of attention has been given to describing the rules governing the selection of style and correlating speech style with various features of the situation (Hymes 1967) and with socioeconomic and ethnic groups. However while the growth of this discipline in the early seventies provided the potential to analyse sex differences in language use, it initially concentrated on language and class, race, social setting and political relations, which is unfortunate given that identification by sex is probably one of the primary organising variables in human interaction. It is only recently that sex differentiation has been incorporated into the scope of sociolinguistics and this was essentially due to the efforts of feminists through the seventies attempting to open up this line of enquiry.

To summarise the main premises of this approach. The investigative continuum in sociolinguistics focuses on the individual speaker or hearer with a particular social identity and examines that encoder's or decoder's social relations and interactions with others. The discipline considers the systematic study of language as a social phenomenon and sees speech as containing information about the speaker, thus fulfilling an important social function; it is a means of establishing and maintaining relationships with others. Social context is the important variable here, descriptive sociolinguistics studies language within speech communities which are defined as "sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of at least one linguistic variety" and attempts to explain different linguistic variations in terms of their social meaning.

SPEECH CHARACTERISTICS

The next stage in this chapter will be to discuss recent research in sociolinguistics on conversation patterns and the organisation of social

interaction in general and show how this work takes social structures into account and investigates the ways in which language is controlled, who controls it and how. Considerable attention has been paid to one particular characteristic, hesitancy. Lakoff in 1975 made the claim that one of the main characteristics of women's speech was hesitancy and she specified a particular linguistic form, the tag question as reflecting women's' hesitant speech. This will be described in certain detail as it is a good example of the sociolinguistic research as well as illustrating the problems inherent in adopting this approach.

Lakoff writes at length about tag questions which she considers show that women's speech lacks the assertiveness and effectiveness of men's speech. According to Lakoff, a speaker uses a tag question if he or (usually) she is stating a claim but lacks full confidence in the truth of that claim, for example "It's cold in here isn't it?" Several researchers have followed up this claim. Hartmann 1976, McMillan 1977 and Fishman 1980 found evidence to support Lakoff's claim, but other researchers have found that women and men use about the same number of tag questions, (Baumann 1976) or even that men use this linguistic form more than women. (Johnson 1980, Lapadat and Seesahai 1978) Dubois and Crouch (1975) found from examination of tape recordings of a small professional meeting that all the tag questions were spoken by men.

Several points are of interest here. First, although in several cases research has actually contradicted the claim, instead of reconsidering the hypothesis and suggesting that it is men who lack confidence or use weak forms in their use of language and a rejection of the initial premise, the belief in the deficiency of women's' language remains unchallenged regardless of the research outcome.

Second, it can be argued that Lakoff was being influenced by stereotyped images of sex differences. Stereotypes of masculinity and femininity polarise women and men's behaviour while at the same time they create and maintain sex differences in speech. This is clearly true of most researchers who look for certain differences. The search then begins for parameters that can be measured which illustrate the premise. Most of the work using a sex differences approach and a lot of the sociolinguistic research in this area is typified by this confusion between believed differences and actual differences, as mentioned in the previous section.

Following on from this second point, this type of study raises the problem of language function and use. To return to the tag question while Lakoff claims that tag questions convey uncertainty, other researchers have questioned this definition which reinforces the deficiency of women's language. Fishman (1980) suggests that tag questions reflect an attempt to elicit a response from male conversational partners. She refers to Sacks (1974) who noted that questions are both explicit invitations to listeners to respond and demands that they do so and thus questions are stronger forms interactively than declaratives which can be more easily ignored. Johnson (1980) redefines tag questions in a similar way to Fishman and sees them as a device to sustain conversation, while Dubois and Crouch (1975) suggest that tag questions may be used in a controlling way, to forestall opposition.

Therefore while other researchers have questioned the premise that women's speech is deficient, the assumption remains that a certain linguistic form has the same behavioural function in all situations. Clearly this approach is lacking in its inability to consider social context within which linguistic forms are used and is unable to consider that it is not that

linguistic forms are weak in themselves but that it might be the case that they are seen and valued as weak when they are used by women.

In order to examine this last proposal more is needed than just the documentation of differences. As a start it would be useful to examine the perceptions and evaluations by listeners of speakers use of various speech forms, modifying the sex of the speaker in various contexts. However this is something that is lacking in this approach. The underlying explanation for these differences is either stated or implicitly accepted as being a result of sex role socialisation and the emphasis is on a static or fixed speech pattern, in this case women are seen as consistently using "weaker" or "powerless" forms. To summarise, while this work was clearly of value in drawing attention to the question of women's speech in relation to men's, this area of research as typified in Lakoff's work can be seen to illustrate how the belief in the deficiency of women's language is constructed. The emphasis of many of these studies is on proving women's inadequacy and identifying and measuring this inadequacy, possibly with the aim of improving women's modes so women could take their place in the male world. Seen in terms of linguistic strategies the emphasis of this research is for women to learn to speak like men, although a lot of these studies don't go this far and stop once they have located women's weaknesses.

Other studies have investigated Lakoff's claims concerning "genderlects" ie that there are consistent differences in womens' speech as compared to men's with women's speech always illustrating the weaker form. This "weaker" form was said to comprise of greater use of intensifiers, modal constructions, tag questions and imperative constructions. The characteristics listed by Lakoff have been previously described in preceding sections. Some research has investigated "genderlects" as a whole.

Crosby and Nyquist (1977) examined female and male speech in three situations, a laboratory, an information centre and a suburban police station looking specifically for the presence of the female register or speech style described by Lakoff and considering Lakoff's explanations for these differences. They found that the female register was more marked in women's speech than in men's in the laboratory situation. In the police station, the status of the police personnel was found to be unimportant but females used the female register more than males and clients used the register more than police personnel. In the information centre, male to male interactions contained less of the female register but there were main interactions for sex of speaker or sex of attendant.

The conclusions drawn were that differences in the three situations could be accounted for in terms of the information centre being closer to a "ritualised" interaction in which sex differences were diminished. Crosby and Nyquist state that while findings support Lakoff's hypothesis they do not necessarily support her claim that women's speech reflects the low status of women in society, but suggest instead that differences in use of the female register can be attributed to sex role differences.

Mcmillan, Clifton, Mcgrath and Gale (1977) have examined Lakoff's claim of uncertainty in speech. They looked at all the linguistic characteristics said to typify women's speech with the addition of interruptions in both mixed and same sex groups. Women and men were found to differ on all linguistic categories as predicted with women using more intensifiers, tag questions, modal constructions and imperative constructions and men interrupting more. Two interpretations were proposed to account for these findings.

First that these linguistic forms indicate uncertainty, second, that the use of these forms by women are indicative of women's subculture. They argue that women's subculture centres around emotionality, interpersonal aspects and that this is reflected in these linguistic forms. Modal constructions and imperative constructions can thus be thought of as enabling speakers to assert personal beliefs without being too aggressive, while tag questions "solicit greater responsiveness from listeners and help generate a climate of interpersonal closeness". However their redefinition is not supported by their finding that women use these forms more in mixed interaction and instead they resort to the usual explanation that the use of these forms is due to the majority/ minority relations between men and women. Again they can be criticised for failing to consider that linguistic forms can serve different functions in different contexts.

It is interesting to note at this point that some researchers have obtained different findings and come to different conclusions. Baumann concludes

"The question now presents itself whether the features discussed by Lakoff are at all relevant to women's speech". It appears from my data that they are not. It remains to be seen if there are indeed, any such features at all".

Baumann 1976

Other research has looked at turntaking in mixed sex conversations. Coser (1960) and Goffman (1972) have observed that those in a dominating position assume that it is their right to talk freely and to interrupt. The general finding is that men talk more than women in both artificial and natural contexts. Bernard (1972), Soskin and John (1963), Strotbeck (1951), Swacker (1975) and Wood (1966) have found that men talk more than

women in both artificial and naturalistic contexts.

Eakins and Eakins (1976) studied the concept of turntaking in the context of five faculty meetings at a University. Following the model proposed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) they defined turntaking as being not only the temporal duration of an utterance but also of the right to speak which is allocated to a particular speaker. They found that men took significantly more turns than women and that there was a high correlation between the number of turns taken and the hierarchy of power or status according to rank, importance or length of time in the university.

Edelsky (1981) similarly used this model in her analysis of conversational patterns of five informal committee meetings. However she criticises this model on the basis of the technical difficulties involved in analysing the transcripts. First, for their failure to capture the "feel" of the interaction and for biasing the perception of the interaction. Second, she describes the problem of defining what is meant by "floor" and "turntaking" and lists the varieties of ways in which these two categories have been used by researchers.

While her conclusions are that Sacks' model provides the most adequate definition, she disagrees with Sacks et al's assumption that turntaking is a universal speech form. While her analyses showed sex differences, these were related to the type of "floor" being developed, whether it was a singly developed or a collaborative venture. Edelsky's criticisms raise the question of the adequacy of a structural analysis of conversational interaction and argue for the value of a functional definition of the situation. Clearly this is another problem inherent in the majority of these sociolinguistic studies as well as the sex differences approach.

The question of interruptions would seem to be related to this element of conversational structure. Zimmerman and West (1975) found that ninety eight percent of interruptions in mixed sex conversations were made by men. Eakins and Eakins (1976) also found that women were interrupted significantly more times than men and that there were no occasions on which women considered that being interrupted was out of order or justification for complaint. Women tended to remain silent after being interrupted even though one study found that in some cases women were interrupted in one out of two of their turns. However, more recently it has been suggested that the classification of interruptions and simultaneous speech may not be altogether satisfactory in many cases of social interaction. (Ferguson 1977). She points out that these two elements of speech are most commonly associated with various aspects of dominance, but it can be questioned whether these two sets of variables are significantly correlated. It has been suggested that care must be taken because interruptions, instead of reflecting dominance may be mistimed or misjudged attempts to take the floor. Dominance may be a factor which is of limited or no importance during many mistimed speaker switches.

Other researchers have commented on the way in which topics of conversation are raised, dropped, changed and diverted, ie the issue of control of conversations. Zimmerman and West (1975) found that when a woman attempted to develop a topic during one of her turns in the conversation, the man made minimal response, which they consider functions as a mechanism by which men control the topic in mixed sex conversation.

Feldman (1965) studied married couples and found that in his sample no reward was given to the woman's initiative in starting conversations.

Similarly Fishman (1978) attempted to pick out recurring patterns in taped conversations and found that women tried more often than men to initiate, but succeeded less often. In contrast, women followed up topics that were raised by men, asked more questions and did more "verbal support work". Fishman concluded that the conversation seemed to be under male control but was produced by women's work.

Swacker (1975) has studied women's verbal behaviour at conferences by using tape recordings of the question and discussion periods following papers. She studied in particular the patterns of compounding pre-question prediction, ie providing multiple comments and citations before embarking on the question itself. The data showed that dialogue between the speaker and the audience occurred almost five times as often when both members were men than when either one or both speakers were women.

Attempts have been made to study assertive and supportive behaviour in conversations. Hirshman (1974) hypothesised that women would be more supportive and men more assertive in interaction. In this study assertiveness was measured by patterns of obtaining and holding the floor, while supportive behaviour was measured by frequency of affirmative words and questions asked to bring out the speaker. However the only striking differences between females and males that were found was in the use of "Mmmmm hmmmms", women using this expression far more than men, while it was also found that men used almost twice as many "I think" as females. The main problem that arises with these sort of studies is once again the problem of the translation from behavioural to linguistic measures. In this case whether the variables chosen to measure assertiveness and supportiveness are in fact related to these general psychological characteristics and whether they are perceived in the same

way when used by a woman as when used by a man.

As yet little research has been carried out to investigate single sex contexts. Generally it has been shown that women are more interested in cooperation in conversation than competition.(Baird 1976, Stoll and McFarlane 1973) and that in mixed sex groups it is usually men's preferred strategy that is adopted. (Cassell 1977) It has been suggested that in men-only groups hierarchies are created where someone takes dominant position and remains there until challenged, while women only groups operated more on the basis of turntaking and the sharing of information (Aries 1976)

Here it is interesting to consider in some detail a study by Leet-Pellegrini (1980) in that several speech characteristics were studied which are considered to distinguish between "powerful" and "powerless" speech forms ie talkativeness, interruptions, overlaps, assent forms and openings and closings. These were looked at from the point of their relation to two dimensions of power, power from sex and power from expertise. Thus this study was unusual in considering the interrelation between different bases of power. This study was also unusual in taking into account participants perceived judgements of control as well as researcher's "objective" measures. Further, distinctions between types of interruptions were made in this study which were divided into four categories with account taken as to whether the interruption was successful or not, which Leet-Pellegrini considers serve different function, thus paying attention to Ferguson's criticisms.

Results showed that expertise as a single base of power was "limitedly effective" in the emergence of dominance and control in that expertise

elicited more talkativeness. Gender as a single base of power was even less salient in the development of conversational power. There was no difference in interaction between female-male interaction as compared with female-female or male-male interaction. However it was the interaction of gender and expertise which showed that generally men but not women responded differently when they were in positions of power compared with positions of equality. Pellegrini refers to another study which has suggested that expertise is not a legitimate source of power for women.(Johnson 1980) In this study women generally avoided responding in "dominant" ways.

As regards the various linguistic measures, male experts occupied more talking space relative to female partners than did female experts relative to male partners. Assenting phenomena most clearly separated the conversational style of male experts from female experts. Women used assent terms in conversation with "uninformed" partners significantly more than male experts and more often with male partners than with female partners. Further, uninformed partners assented more than experts in all situations, except where a female expert conversed with a male non-expert. Similarly male experts were seen as structuring conversational beginnings more than female experts. For each combination only female experts with male non experts did overall less structuring than their partners.

There was some evidence for the idea of conversational competitiveness between men, while other findings suggested how shifting contexts can either enhance or depress a female show of dominance. Generally there was not such striking asymmetry in intrusion patterns between females and males as reported by Zimmerman and West 1975. In terms of judges and participants perceptions of dominance and control, there was general

agreement, male experts were seen as relatively more controlling of the conversation than female experts across all language measures. Judges ratings also gave evidence that men differentiate between situations based on equality and those based on power in same sex as well as mixed sex interaction.

CONCLUSION FROM THESE STUDIES

There are numerous theoretical comments and criticisms to be made concerning the work described above. Overall it seems that much of this research is disappointing in being limited, asocial and uncritically reinforcing women's inferior position. By leaving explanations for differences in terms of women's natural caring temperament or inherent weakness and giving little or consideration to social structure or the way social relations affect and influence behaviour, including speech, no possibility for change is allowed. Clearly there are certain differences which seem consistent across a range of social situations, what is needed now is an examination of the explanations given for these differences within a social context and to question the way the research questions are approached in the first place. Compared to the general linguistic strategies mentioned in the introduction this linguistic and sociolinguistic research seems to have taken on an unnecessarily static and narrow focus. Abigail Rosenthal's description of "the masks of various modes of philosophic and academic argumentation" seems to fit unfortunately well here. She describes this argumentation as that

"In which language may be used to perpetuate illusions, and pieces of palpable nonsense may be "demonstrated" as valid because the propositions in which this half baked knowledge is borne bear no relation at all to the world of real objects, whether natural or socially consumed."

To state specific criticisms of this research, some of the points concern the idea of separate, distinct and fixed speech styles of women and men, others are levelled at the approach of traditional sociolinguistics as regards the assumptions that it makes about the nature of language.

First, these studies usually describe, rather than explain differences in the speech styles. The general vague explanation has been that women and men are socialised into acting and reacting within a set gender asymmetry. So, in emphasising the frequently occurring and enduring dominant and subordinate relations between women and men, no indication is given of the potential or actuality of language change. Further, in being purely descriptive, the studies lack the power of prediction. (Smith, Giles and Hewstone 1980). It has been said that it is now necessary for researchers to point out the importance of moving from the what, when and where to the why of sociolinguistics.

Second, because most of the studies isolate sex as a variable to be examined, little or no attention is paid to other factors which contribute to the balance of power in social interactions, and thus no attempt is made or can be made to consider contextual variability in the salience of sex.

Third, the focus of the traditional sociolinguistic approach has been on correlations between linguistic and large scale, objectively defined social variables, rather than considering that speakers own subjective attitudes, perceptions of situations and cognitive and affective dispositions may interact to determine their speech styles. (Smith, Giles and Hewstone 1980). In treating women and men as homogeneous groups, the variation in perceptions of memberships to these groups is ignored. It is therefore

not possible to take into account how ideologies participate in the production of groups and secure identification with the subject positions produced there as suggested by Coward and Black 1981.

Fourth, traditional sociolinguistics has been unable to specify adequately the conditions under which and the reasons why speech can be more salient than other (non-linguistic) variables in influencing social relations, situations and structures. (Giles, Smith, Ford, Condor and Thakerar 1982, Smith 1980). Speech is often, although not always, an important element of interaction, but speech when it occurs is always socially situated behaviour, a part of social reality, not merely a reflection of it. (Smith and Giles 1978) This sociolinguistic research has so far simply seen language as a reflection of social reality and been unable to consider it as "a central and defining facet of reality." While sociolinguistics continues to ignore these issues, the understanding of the part language plays in structuring and maintaining relations between women and men will remain limited and inadequate.

CHAPTER TWO

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

The problem of a lack of predictive, explanatory framework and the inability of a traditional, descriptive sociolinguistic approach to account adequately for the flexibility of language use, including the possibility of linguistic change has recently been tackled by a social psychological approach. This attempts to show that by considering social psychological aspects of linguistic behaviour it is possible to gain a fuller understanding of social interaction than by simply concentrating on the demonstration of static differences between various social groups. (Giles 1977, Giles and Powesland 1975, Giles and St Clair 1979)

This approach is concerned with developing the study of speech alongside research in social psychology on intergroup relations, in particular Tajfel and Turner's Theory of Intergroup Relations (1979) and the perceived structure of social situations. While this social psychological approach considers it insufficient to postulate effects of different social variables on language behaviour, it is seen as important instead to investigate ways in which social and situational variables are mediated by cognitive, affective and motivational processes in individuals.

From a social psychological perspective emphasis is on the individual and his or her display of attitudes toward ingroup and outgroup members as elicited by language and reflected in its use. Much of this research concentrates on evaluations and attitudes to speech rather than

documenting speech itself. Using this approach then, emphasis is placed on the importance of considering speech not only as an independent variable, actively defining and redefining the nature of the situation for the participants involved, but also as an individual's subjective definition of a situation.

"The cornerstone of our approach is that language behaviour is part of social situations, alternating central (independent variable) or peripheral (dependent variable) in ways and under conditions that social psychological theory and methods can help to make more specific".

SPEECH MARKERS

The concept of speech markers plays an important part here. Speech markers are defined as "any feature that could be or is used by people to identify its emitter as a member of some socially significant category".(Halliday 1975, Robinson 1972). A person can reveal a considerable amount of information about his or her basic psychological dispositions through a range of speech markers. These have can be divided up into two levels. Level one markers are described as easily perceived auditory stimuli which allows speakers to show their association with broadly defined personal, (age, sex) social (ethnic, class, occupational) and psychological states (interest in continuing interaction, anxiety) and for listeners to categorise those speakers accordingly in these terms. In certain situations these markers are redundant because the information they give can be arrived at by means of other more potent cues, for example the physical presence of an individual.

Level two markers are considered to provide more subtle information in giving the listener information about the speakers social attitudes beliefs,

values and intentions towards their own group memberships as well as processing the emotional significance of the social states of others (Giles, Scherer and Taylor 1979). Therefore through the use of speech markers a speaker can communicate and organise their speech input for the listener's efficient interpretation of it as well as presenting many complex and simultaneous messages about how they want to define the social relationships and situation. Level two speech markers can be understood as serving the function of cognitive organisation and identity maintenance.

Giles and Powesland (1975) suggest that a distinct speech style or speech marker is one of the most important symbols of a group even if this speech style is not discernible to others. Social psychologists have concentrated on the claim that a speech style associated with a particular social group can be used by a group member to stress their particular social identity.

TAJFEL AND TURNER'S THEORY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Obviously a social psychological theory of intergroup relations which attends to the process and meaning of social identity in various situations is needed in order to examine these claims. A theory that has generally been used as a framework for this area of study is Tajfel and Turner's Theory of Intergroup Relations (1979). Social identification and social identity are the central concepts of this theory. Social identity is described as "that part of an individual's self concept which arises through membership of a social group or groups together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership".

Social identity clearly acquires meaning only in relation to or in comparison with other groups. Tajfel and Turner predict that an individual

will attempt to achieve a positive social identity through a positive outcome of the social comparison process, but, if membership of a particular group gives a negative identity, as for example minority groups in a stratified hierarchically organised society, the individual can respond depending on his or her perception of that membership. If the individual accepts the relations laid down by the status quo then the individual is unlikely to attempt to change the situation and will adopt the behaviour and accept the values of the group membership as they stand. If the individual is aware that cognitive alternatives exist, ie that other possibilities are open to the subordinate group members besides legitimised inferiority, strategies may be adopted to change the situation.

Tajfel and Turner maintain that there is a continuum of beliefs concerning the nature of intergroup relations which is a powerful determinant of the form any interaction takes in terms of the strategy adopted towards members of the outgroup. This continuum ranges from inter-individual to intergroup encounters. The two extremes have been described as follows,

"at one extreme is the interaction between two or more individuals which is fully determined by their interpersonal relations and individual characteristics and not at all affected by various social groups or categories to which they respectively belong. The other extreme consists of interactions between two or more individuals (or groups of individuals) which are fully determined by their respective memberships of various social groups or categories, and not at all affected by the interpersonal relationships between the people involved".

Tajfel and Turner 1979

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIAL CHANGE STRATEGIES

The strategies that can be adopted towards the outgroup have been

named "social mobility" and "social change" strategies. The former is described as an individual's belief that one's own position as an individual in society can be improved by leaving the present social group and moving to other more suited groups by taking on that groups behaviour and values. In this sense social mobility consists of a subjective or individual restructuring of the social system. Thus individualistic assimilation takes place. An example of this strategy would be black "uncle Toms" who attempt to change their own position independently of the group and despite group membership. Tajfel notes that this is an example of an initial strategy which groups adopt if they are beginning to question their status and that it is usually unsatisfactory as experienced by group members, because, by taking on too many characteristics of the outgroup ingroup members neglect their own group.(Tajfel 1981)

On the other hand, social change refers to the belief of being enclosed within the social group of which the individual is a member and that it is not possible to move out of this group, therefore the only way to change these conditions is with the group as a whole in the process of setting up new social structures. An example of the use of this strategy would be black south Africans who are attempting to change the social structure as they no longer see this structure and their position in it as stable or legitimate.

Within this term "social change strategies", Tajfel and Turner outline specific ways of moving towards change which they call "social creativity" and "social competition". The first refers to an attempt to re-evaluate existing characteristics which are currently negatively valued, in a positive direction. Alternatively to create new group characteristics which will be positively valued either through an attempt to construct new attitudes or

through social action. An example of social creativity can be seen in the slogan "Black is beautiful", where both old and new interpretations of "black" are given positive meanings. Finally, social competition refers to the conflict situation where two groups aim to achieve the same goal by the same means. Williams and Giles (1978) give the example of certain demands coming from the Womens' Liberation Movement that women can do certain jobs as well as men although they are still prevented from doing so by sex discrimination. and this has resulted on many occasions, in direct competition for both jobs and promotion.

SPEECH ACCOMMODATION THEORY

Given that speech style can be an important dimension of identity for many social groupings, it is important to consider the inter-individual and intergroup continuum with regard to its potential speech correlates. Here it is necessary to describe the speech accommodation theory (Giles and Powesland 1975, Giles 1977). A set of hypotheses have been outlined concerning predicted speech patterns in interaction which centre around the concepts of convergence and divergence. Convergence is defined as the reduction of linguistic dissimilarities between two people in terms of their accents rate of speech, dialect etc. Giles and Powesland (1975) note that normally in interaction people accommodate their speaking style so that linguistic differences are minimised over time. However in interaction where the most salient factor is group identity, and the two participants accept and want to assert that identity (ie the interaction is seen in terms of the intergroup end of the continuum) then divergence occurs, a deliberate attempt to maintain and emphasise linguistic differences. (Bourhis and Giles 1977, Lambert 1979, Ryan 1979).



Bourhis and Giles' (1977) work with Welsh speakers illustrates the way in which Welsh accent is reduced or emphasised in interaction with an English speaker according to whether the situation is seen in interpersonal or intergroup terms. All the subjects in this experiment were Welsh-born adults who were learning Welsh at a language centre. The subjects were divided into two groups, one group were taking the course in order to further their career prospects these were called "instrumental learners", the other group were taking the course in order to learn more about their cultural heritage, "integrative learners". Thus the two groups could be considered to differ in the sense that one group was learning Welsh for individualistic reasons, while the other group was learning on the basis of nationalistic or group reasons. Consequently it was expected that the "integrative learners" when interacting with an English speaker would perceive a broader range of interactions with that person in terms of national group membership and react accordingly.

Subjects from both groups were tape-recorded interacting under four different conditions which were named the pre-experimental, the neutral, the nationally salient and the post experimental condition. In the pre-experimental condition the subject was asked to describe their weekend activities and general interests.

They were told that this was just to check that the equipment was working. This served as a speech baseline with which to compare any speech changes that occurred in the following conditions. In the neutral condition the subjects were asked questions by an RP accented male speaker, here no mention was made of Welsh language or Welsh nationality. In the nationally salient condition the experimenter made explicit that he was working at an English university and was interested in minority

languages, particularly Welsh. He also made certain attacks concerning the pessimistic future of the Welsh language. Finally in the post-experimental condition subjects were asked to fill questionnaires which asked them about their reactions to the second and third conditions, for example, whether they had felt anxious or threatened.

It was found that following analysis of the different conditions that the integrative group made their Welsh nationality and affiliation with the Welsh language more salient and explicit in all the conditions. Thus they were considered to have perceived each situation in intergroup terms and emphasised accent differences between themselves and the other speakers. Further, they could be said to be showing accent divergence as well as content divergence in that they emphasised their disagreements with the Englishman regarding his statements about the Welsh language. So it would appear that divergence was being used to emphasise this group's ethnic identity and was a means to make themselves psychologically distinct from the outgroup. The instrumental group on the other hand perceived the situation in interindividual terms and tended to reduce accent differences. This group converged in accent towards the outgroup speaker, showing the greatest convergence in the nationally salient condition (Ryan 1979). It is important at this point to describe how this approach has been applied to women and men as groups by looking at specific studies in order to reach some evaluation of this approach. This research will be divided into three main areas for consideration.

INFORMATIONAL PROPERTIES OF SPEECH

First, consideration has been given to exactly what degree of information linguistic variables can give a listener about a speaker. Giles,

Smith, Brown, Whiteman and Williams 1980, have considered that speech might provide information leading to consistent attributions of women's attitudes towards male and female relations. Twenty four women were given an "Attitudes towards women" scale. (Kirkpatrick 1936) where a low score indicates that the respondent accepts generally the inferior role of women relative to men, and a high score reflects dissatisfaction with women's inferior status. On the basis of this scale eight women were then placed in a "feminist" group and sixteen were put in a "non-feminist" group. A further eight women who were active in the women's movement and who also scored highly on the scale were added to the "feminist" group. Interviews were then carried out on two topics of interest, (clothing and fashion, and Margaret Thatcher as prime minister). The sixty four extracts were then played to sixteen linguistically untrained female and male listeners who had to rate the speakers on a number of items pertinent to what was said, how it was said and what kind of personality the speakers seemed to have. The results showed that listeners rated the feminists as significantly more profeminist, more lucid, intelligent, sincere, as less frivolous and superficial and having more standard accents than the non-feminist speakers.

Consideration was also given to the two "types" of women within the "feminist" group. Half of this group were described as "committed feminists" as they were active within the women's liberation movement, the other were described as "non-committed feminists" as they had scored highly on the ATW scale yet were not actively involved in the women's movement. The idea was to investigate a possible relation between active commitment to the women's movement and women's speech, ie to see if differences perceived between feminist and non-feminist women would be

accentuated in the women who were actively involved in the women's movement. It was found that the "committed feminist" group were rated as more lucid, confident, intelligent, likeable, sincere, but less monotonous and superficial than the "uncommitted" feminists. However there was a problem with this study in that listeners were rating spontaneous speech and might have been able to detect differences between the groups on the basis of content rather than speech style. Therefore a follow up study was carried out using the same procedure as before, but where subjects were recorded reading a prose passage. In this study feminist speakers were perceived as being less fluent and standard accented, lower in pitch, less precisely enunciated, more masculine and less feminine sounding than non feminist speakers. While this study gives evidence of how subtle information about speakers' political position can be conveyed through speech, the crude division of women into "feminist" and "non- feminist" groups on the basis of this questionnaire score can be criticised. As other researchers have pointed out, Kirkpatrick's scale was drawn up using statements from feminist groups, disagreement to these statements was uncritically assumed to indicate a "traditional" viewpoint. While this was not considered in any further depth, while the scale still stands and is used in several of these studies. (Condor 1986) These findings that listeners can make relatively subtle discriminations of a speakers attitude towards various social groups has been supported by sociolinguistic research in less artificial contexts, for example in a study on marital decision making in "liberated" and "non-liberated" couples. (Hershey and Werner 1975). Williams and Giles (1978) have concluded that one of the strategies used by some feminists who want to change women's status is by adopting an assimilation strategy towards what is held to be typical of the dominant group in attitudes, values and behaviour. In the case of speech styles this would mean

converging towards the majority status group stereotype and it could be this strategy that enables listeners to make accurate discriminating judgements.

This view would be supported by a study by Giles and Byrne (1978) which found that a group of twenty feminist students (defined once again by the ATW scale) were seen as more "male-like" than their "non-feminist" counterparts in that they spoke more and with a faster speech rate as compared with a group of women who scored lower on the ATW scale. This finding could be explained in terms of feminists wanting to change commonly held beliefs about the sexes and thus adopting counter stereotypical behaviours. This conclusion is limited, an immediate criticism to be made is that there is likely to be more than simply one linguistic strategy available for women who do not accept the status quo. Giles et al includes a note of this in their conclusion.

"Feminism is not a monolithic movement, feminists who have different views of female and male relations and advocate different social policies and actions from those in these studies may show different speech styles.

Giles et al 1978

More recently Giles and Byrne (1980) have put forward an alternative explanation for their finding that listeners are able to distinguish speakers levels identification with feminism. They suggest that feminist and non-feminist views may be components of larger sociopolitical belief structures, for example radicalism and liberalism, or liberalism and conservatism respectively. If this was the case then perceived differences in speech style would be expected to mark these ideological dimensions, probably for men as well as women. Speech samples of pro and

anti-feminist men were rated by listeners as before. It was hypothesised that if the "assimilationist" perspective was valid, ie that feminists were adopting masculine stereotypical speech characteristics then there would be no differentiation between pro and anti-feminist men. If, however, the radical-liberal ideological perspective was the more valid explanation, then it would be expected that listeners would be able to distinguish between male speakers as well as female speakers on the basis of their speech style.

This study obtained results that were similar to the previous study except for a reversal on two dimensions: "pro-feminist" men were rated as more monotonous in tone and less standard accented than anti-feminist men. It would seem then that as listeners had been able to distinguish between the pro and anti-feminist men, that the so called "feminist" voice as previously described is associated with people sharing a broadly based liberal ideology rather than being associated specifically to feminists adopting an "assimilationist" strategy. Giles et al suggest that it might be more useful to consider certain linguistic features that correlate with feminist views to be "sex role associative" instead of "sex role causative". This explanation was given further support when the male speakers were asked to fill in radicalism, conservatism and liberalism scales (Comfrey and Newmeyer 1965, Wilson and Patterson 1968). A strong relation was found between a liberal ideology and pro-feminist views. However this still leaves the question open as to exactly which speech characteristics are being used by listeners to make these distinctions. While it makes sense to suggest that it might be the more "masculine" sounding speech of feminist women which distinguishes them from non-feminist women, this does not make sense for "liberal" as opposed to "conservative" men. Why should

pro-feminist or "liberal" men sound more "masculine" in their speech especially when it is considered that this is on the basis of the reading of a "neutral" prose passage? There are clearly further questions that remain unanswered here.

Smith (1980) has carried out two studies concerning speech based judgements of "masculinity" and "femininity" (M and F). Given that women and men vary in the extent to which they consider themselves typical or untypical members of their sex group, so too they are seen to differ by others. In these studies Smith was investigating whether speech based judgements of "masculinity" and "femininity" bear any resemblance to speakers self assessed "masculinity" and "femininity". Two questions were examined here, first, whether variations in listeners speech-based judgements of M and F correspond to speakers own gender identities, and second, whether judgements of these speakers are influenced by their own M and F.

In the first of these two studies, four female and four male speakers read a short prose passage and were rated by one hundred and thirty female and male listeners (sixteen and seventeen year old school pupils) on sex stereotypical characteristics. These included five "masculine" and five "feminine" stereotypical traits. The speakers had been selected on the basis of their questionnaire responses concerning self image, "masculine" and "feminine" stereotypes to be representative of a broad range of "feminine" and "masculine" self images. Thus there was one speaker of each sex who represented a relatively "masculine" gender identity, one who represented a relatively "feminine" gender identity, one with relatively high levels of M and F (androgynous) and one who did not rate highly on M or F (undifferentiated). In this experiment listeners also completed versions of

the self image, "masculine" and "feminine" stereotype questionnaires enabling an assessment of their gender identities and of the relationship of M and F to their performance in the rating task.

The results of the ratings of this study show that all listeners correctly identified each speaker's sex and could also distinguish between the types of speaker. The most "masculine" ratings were given to the "masculine" man followed by the "masculine" female, the "undifferentiated" male and the androgynous male. The "feminine" female, "feminine" male and "androgynous" and "undifferentiated" females were rated as progressively less "masculine". The speaker rated as most "feminine" was the "undifferentiated" female while the "masculine" male was rated as least "feminine". Smith notes from these results that

"the attribution of F is not simply the inverse of M as far as the listeners are concerned and mirror image congruency between M and F attributions occurs only at each extreme".

The correspondence between listeners impressions of speakers and speakers self assessed M and F was examined by looking at the correspondence between the perceived M and F and the speakers self ratings. There appeared to be a reliable correspondence between perceived and self rated M and F. It was concluded from this study that people can form very reliable impressions of other's M and F on the basis of speech alone. A person's sex is not only nor even the most important determinant of inferences about conformity to sex stereotypical norms of behaviour. Important impression formations can be made from even short, content-controlled samples of speech which bear a loose resemblance to a person's own self-characterisation.

A further experiment was carried out by Smith (1980), closely related to the first but where listeners were also required to make evaluations of the same speakers. First, listeners (one hundred and twenty eight female and male students) were asked to rate each speaker on the same character traits used previously and then they were asked to make evaluations on several items concerned with attractiveness and social competence and their overall impressions of the favourableness of the speaker. These items had all been found to be non-sex-stereotypical. Comparisons were then made between the judgements made by these listeners with the speaker's self-images. It was found that the associations between listener's judgements of M and F and speaker's self-images in this experiment showed similar patterns to that of the previous experiment. Again there was a significant correlation between overall attributions and measures of speaker's M and F. As regards ratings of social attractiveness, there was considerable variation in the listener's ratings. Generally the female speakers were rated higher than the males and the "feminine" and "masculine" speakers were rated lower than the "androgynous" and "undifferentiated" speakers. The least attractive was the "feminine" and "masculine" males.

The results from the ratings of social competence showed that there was a general consensus of listener's ratings with female speakers being given higher competence ratings than male speakers. There were variations in the ratings of the different types of speakers with the "androgynous" speakers being given the highest ratings followed by the "undifferentiated", "masculine" and "feminine" speakers. The "feminine" male was seen as the least competent.

As regards ratings for overall favourableness, male listeners gave higher

ratings than female listeners and in addition gave more favourable ratings to female speakers. The female speakers were seen more favourably overall by all listeners. Also the "androgynous", "feminine" and "undifferentiated" speakers got higher ratings than the "masculine" speakers. It should be noted that there was greater agreement among listeners with these ratings than there had been with the attractiveness ratings.

To conclude from this study, overall there was a high consensus among listeners who produced ratings similar to the previous study. Further, these impressions were reliable and bore a significant relationship to the self-images of the speakers. This study in addition illustrates that systematic evaluative ratings accompany ratings of speaker's M and F. While perceived "femininity" has been shown to be a strong determinant of favourable reactions to speakers, there is also a tendency for F ratings to be accompanied by judgements of social competence. This finding differs considerably from previous studies where "masculinity" has been associated with competence and contradicts early assertions that women need to emphasise "masculinity" in their speech. (See Lakoff's work in the speech style section of the previous chapter)

To return to the predictions regarding the social comparison process, these results show that there is little variation between female and male listeners in terms of their ratings and that men as well as women rate female speakers more positively. While this could be explained in terms of ingroup favouritism from female listeners, it does not explain the male listeners ratings. Here the expected social comparison processes leading to positive distinctiveness by male listeners is not evident. It is not immediately clear why this is, it has been suggested that possibly male/female social comparison has not been sufficiently salient here (Smith

1980).

These studies are important in pointing out that while a person's sex is an important determinant of reactions to that person so too is perceived conformity to sex-typical behaviour. While as yet little is known of the stimuli that mediate such judgements of M and F or the factors that form the basis of these judgements and evaluations. Other factors need to be included for consideration here, for example the evaluation of speakers when placed in a social context, specific conversational characteristics should be considered such as interruptions. Is it the case that evaluations of the speakers change if one is seen to frequently interrupt another, or deprive another of their speaking turn? Finally, how does this work fit in with studies that investigate the salience of sex?

SALIENCE OF SEX

A second issue that has been examined by this approach is the salience of sex. Given that individuals belong to many groups it is important to consider these different group memberships within a social situation and see how the various factors interrelate and when one becomes salient over the others. Giles, Smith, Ford, Condor and Thakerar (1980) examined the issue of contextual variability in the salience of sex by looking in particular at whether social characteristics attributed to British men with different regional accents, generalises to women speakers. It has been found generally that speakers with Received Pronunciation are perceived as being less socially attractive and trustworthy than non-RP speakers.

To describe these studies more specifically, Williams, Giles, Edwards Best and Daws (1977), asked thirty listeners to rate female RP and Lancashire accented speakers on traits related to stereotypical masculinity

and femininity, competence and social attractiveness and to speakers' supposed belief structure concerning male and female relations. As previously, RP speakers were seen as more competent and less socially attractive than non-RP speakers. In addition the women RP speakers were given higher ratings on certain masculine characteristics, eg, independent, aggressive and adventurous, while at the same time they were given higher ratings on the "feminine" rating and on scales relating to "egalitarian sex role beliefs". An initial interpretation was made that the female RP speakers were perceived as presenting "androgyny", ie characterised by a combination of high ratings of "masculinity" and "femininity" and that this was perceived by listeners through speech style.

This study was followed up by Giles and Marsh (1979), using two female and two male bi-dialectical speakers (RP and South Welsh accented) who were recorded reading a prose passage either with RP or with a South Welsh accent. Seventy six listeners rated these speakers using the same scales as before. Results showed that RP speakers, regardless of sex were rated as more competent, egalitarian and "masculine" than South Welsh speakers. Female speakers were still seen as more "feminine", less "masculine" and competent than male speakers regardless of their accent. However even though female RP were seen as more "masculine" as compared with the South Welsh accented speakers they were not rated as any less "feminine". The results were understood as again illustrating that RP female speech equals the "voice of androgyny" relative to male speech or female non RP speech.

However an alternative interpretation has been put forward for the findings of these two studies. First it was suggested that the seemingly related "feminine" and "masculine" connotations of RP and regional speech

might reflect a biased choice of items on the questionnaires in that RP speech can be considered characteristic of the middle and upper classes in Britain. (Giles and Powesland 1975) So it is possible that the "masculine" items selected by listeners to characterise female RP speakers might also make up the middle-class stereotype and listeners were using these particular characteristics to give middle-class attributions to the speakers.

In order to investigate this alternative explanation, thirty female and thirty male students were given the adjective check list, comprising of three hundred items, and asked if each item applied to their conception of "masculine" and "feminine". Another thirty female and thirty male students were asked to do the same for middle-class and working-class items. It was found that thirty nine adjectives were taken to be "feminine", thirty seven were taken to be "masculine" by 80% of the first group of students while forty six items were seen as middle-class and twenty eight were seen as working-class by 80% of the second group. The middle-class stereotype comprised of adjectives such as cold personality and self-seeking, while at the same time being evaluated as competent. This stereotype is similar to that of the typical RP speaker. Similarly the working-class stereotype could be seen to correspond to the regional speakers (although it should be noted that the ratings were made by an essentially middle-class population). There was a considerable overlap between the sex-related and the class-related stereotypes, ie thirteen traits were rated as being middle-class and "masculine", nine as middle-class and "feminine", ten as working-class and "masculine" and six as working-class and "feminine".

These findings were applied to the earlier studies where female RP speakers had been rated highly on both "masculine" and "feminine" traits. It was found that several of the "masculine" characteristics on which the

female speakers had been highly rated were also class related. As a final study, an attempt was made to isolate the different attributions. Sixty listeners were asked to rate the personalities of two bi-dialectal speakers (RP and Yorkshire accented) reading a neutral passage on items that had been previously shown to be middle-class and "masculine" (eg, dominant, enterprising), middle-class and "feminine" (charming, effeminate), working-class and "masculine" (frank and aggressive) and working-class and "feminine" (sympathetic and warm). Also items were included which were non-class typed "masculine" adjectives (realistic and assertive) and non-class typed "feminine" adjectives (weak and affectionate).

Results from this study showed that both female and male RP speakers were rated significantly higher on the middle-class adjectives with both "feminine" (charming and effeminate) and "masculine" (enterprising and ambitious) overtones while the Yorkshire speakers were upgraded on the working-class items. It could be seen that women were rated higher on "feminine" items than "masculine" items regardless of class connotations and therefore no closer to "androgyny". It would seem from this study that female RP speakers are not seen in more androgynous terms than other speakers and are still given ratings that are closer to sex role prescriptions which means that the earlier named "voice of androgyny" needs to be reconsidered.

As yet, no study has been carried out to investigate specifically whether accent varieties in Britain carry clear "masculine" and "feminine" associations in relation to one another, nor have different accent varieties been compared on a wide range of items chosen explicitly for their association with sex stereotypes. The conclusions that can be drawn from these studies is, first, that RP accented speech which is evaluated highly on

traits stereotypical to the middle-class, generalise from men to women and that second, in Britain, accent and inferred socio-economic status appear to be more salient determinants of speaker evaluation than the speaker's sex.

STEREOTYPES

Finally other work using a social psychological framework has looked at the stereotypes of women and men's speech. Smith and Giles (1978) have suggested that the social significance of speech stereotypes is at least equal to the meaningfulness of actually occurring speech markers. Speech markers are perceived according to the listeners pre-determined evaluative biases laid down in their cognitive structures which maintain their own positive group identity. Smith (1980) suggests that people possess cognitive maps of what they think people ought to sound like when they are known to belong to a particular social categories, are in a certain psychological state, or are involved in specific social situations. Thus stereotypes are seen as a sort of template with which to view, interpret and evaluate the speech of women and men. If speakers do not confirm these beliefs by using the expected speech characteristics, then listeners may hear what is not present or ignore what is not expected. The stereotypes that exist about how members of two social categories (in this case women and men) should speak do not always overlap objectively with the actual speech markers or speech styles used with them. While other approaches have not made clearcut distinctions between sex differences and beliefs about sex differences in speech, this social psychological approach attempts to untangle the two while at the same time placing this line of inquiry in a theoretical framework.

DESCRIPTION AND EVALUATION OF STEREOTYPES

First, the contribution here has been in giving a description of the content and prevalence of sex stereotypes. (Kramer 1978) presented fifty speech related characteristics to students who were asked to rate the extent to which they thought each characteristic was typical or untypical of the average female and male speaker. On thirty six of the scales women speakers were rated differently from men. Female speech was summarised as being "gentle, enthusiastic, grammatically correct, friendly, polite, gibberish and trivial". Male speech was seen as "demanding, boastful, frank, straight to the point and logical". Clearly distinct speech stereotypes exist for women and men which can be easily elicited. Following on from this description, these studies have then assessed the relative value of the traits attributed to each sex, it was originally maintained that the stereotype of women's speech is devalued in relation to men's. Kramer summarised womens' speech as being "gentle, caring, supportive, but ineffectual". However this has been questioned.

Scott (1980) administered thirty sex stereotyped characteristics (those previously differentiated in Kramer's study 1978), to ninety four students and asked them to rate beside each characteristic to what extent it would be socially desirable for an individual to use that trait in social interaction. It was found that stereotypical female speech characteristics were rated as overall more socially desirable. The criteria used here was that a characteristic was considered socially desirable if at least 60% of the respondents expressed agreement. In a second study another group of ninety six students were asked to rate the same characteristics for either a "competent woman", a "competent man", or a "competent adult". Here it was found that female speech characteristics were overall seen to be closer to the ratings of the "competent speaker" than those associated with male

speech. The results showed that there was a significant difference in the ratings of competent men and competent adults, but no significant difference for competent females as compared to competent adults. There was also a difference between the competent female and competent male ratings.

Scott suggests several reasons to explain these findings. First this may be because this form of evaluation of speech characteristics conceals the evaluation of speech in specific situations, speech which according to research on actual interaction, differs from the stereotypes. For example the evaluation of stereotypical characteristics may vary from situation to situation, eg the ratings may have been made with an expressive situation in mind where such traits as warmth, co-operation and self expression are valued, whereas in a task oriented situation the more "masculine" speech characteristics such as straight to the point and forceful speech might be given higher ratings.

A second explanation for these findings is that while separate speech characteristics are rated as positive, in combination they add up to ineffectual speech, eg friendly, supportive plus emotional may be perceived differently when evaluated as a whole than when the traits are considered individually. Third, it might be the case that these traits are not the most salient traits used in judgements of speech in actual interaction. Fourth, maybe these findings tie in with the general stereotype of women being better at communicating than men, ie better with people than with things. Further studies have been carried out which attempt to address these alternative explanations. In a study by Batstone and Tuomi (1981) listeners were asked to give ratings to taped female and male voices. While both female and male listeners identified the same characteristics as descriptive

of the voices they heard, for female listeners the active characteristics ie "lively, colourful and interesting", were the salient aspects of the voices, for male listeners the passive characteristics ie "gentle, sweet, feminine and soft", the traditional feminine characteristics were more salient. This seems to suggest that men and women may disagree on the relative importance of speech traits even though they agree on the description of the traits.

Similarly Siegler and Siegler (1976) first asked forty eight students to rate sentences that had been divided into four types; strong assertions, modified assertions, tag questions and neutral controls as to whether they thought they had been spoken by women or by men and also according to how far they agreed or disagreed with each statement. A second group similarly had to rate these same sentences according to whether they agreed or disagreed with them and then to judge the intelligence of the speaker. The findings show that strong assertions were attributed significantly less often to women and tag questions significantly more often, with modified assertions occupying an intermediate position. Further the syntactic forms associated with men, ie the strong assertion, were rated as more intelligent than the statements in forms generally associated with women, ie the tag question.

Other researchers have examined whether certain sex stereotypical traits are evaluated differently when for example men use those traits as compared with women. (Erikson, Johnson, Lind and O'Barr 1978) They looked at intensifiers, hedges, questioning intonation and tag questions -linguistic features previously considered to be indicative of "powerless" speech (Lakoff 1975) and associated with women. A female and a male speaker were trained to read both versions of a court testimony keeping as many features constant as possible. One testimony was written in this

"powerless " form the other in a "powerful" form. It was found that listeners evaluated the witness in the court interaction more negatively when they used the "powerless" form regardless of whether a woman or a man used this form. Both the female and the male speakers were seen as more credible, strong, competent, likeable and active when reading the powerful version (characteristics consistent with the masculine stereotype) although the "powerless" version was not rated as any more "feminine" on the masculine/feminine scale. This is another result which suggests the possible triviality of sex groupings in general evaluations.

Hirons (1984) investigated whether a speech style containing certain masculine stereotypical characteristics was evaluated differently if it was believed to be used by a woman as compared with a man. Questionnaires were given out which contained a conversation between two individuals where sex, status and context (formal or informal) acted as independent variables. Eighty subjects were divided among the resulting eight conditions and were asked to rate their reactions to "Adam Jones" or "Anne Jones" along various scales. For example, general desirability (ie do you think you would like A. Jones, do you think he is popular?) behavioural dimensions (do you think A. Jones is attentive, competitive, competent, organised, masculine, feminine, successful?) and on ten sex stereotypical speech characteristics, (Kramer 1978) (dominating, shows concern, aggressive, emotional). Sex and the status of the speaker was manipulated to see whether either or both would affect the subsequent evaluation. Specifically the concern was whether women would be seen as deviant for using a counter-sex stereotypical speech style or whether a deviant label would be given to all low status individuals who used a speech style associated with high status speakers as it would be inappropriate for them

in their inferior position.

The findings show that females who used the "masculine" speech style were rated as more aggressive than males using the same speech style, however, there was no evidence that low status individuals were evaluated as more deviant than the high status individuals. Overall there were no "pure" sex or status findings in deviance attributions. Instead sex was found to interact with status and context. Taking into consideration the ten speech characteristics the finding that there was no main effect for sex or status would seem to suggest that while it has proved relatively easy to elicit stereotypical attributions this may not provide a realistic picture of the influence of sexual stereotypes in social interaction given that we are rarely in a situation where sex is the only cue enabling us to form impressions. Social interaction takes place in a social context where sex is only one of the many variables that interact to form the social event.

STEREOTYPES AS CORRELATES OF SOCIAL IDENTITY

Stereotypes can also be considered as important correlates of social identity. Examination of the acceptance of stereotypes can give important insights into how a group views itself and the outgroup and the relations between them. Although Smith's study on "masculinity" and "femininity" has already been described in some detail from the point of view of the informational properties of speech it is interesting to briefly summarise the implications of this work as regards the relation of stereotypes to intergroup theory.

Smith (1980) examined subjects ratings for female and male speakers on stereotypical traits and the social approval associated with these characteristics. He considered that listeners' ratings would give indices of

M/F differentiation. The ratings of M/F stereotypical traits would give a description of sex stereotyping and the approval rates would give an index of intergroup evaluative discrimination. It was predicted that intergroup differentiation would be reflected by a disassociation between a subject's self image and both the ingroup and the outgroup stereotype. The analysis of this study showed that listeners discriminated less between female and male speakers, perceived members of their own sex as less uniform, as the strength of ingroup gender identity increased.

My own work also approached the question of the speech styles of women and men by examining stereotypes of women's and men's language. This work examined the stereotypes of two different groups who had been identified on the basis of questionnaires and interviews as having a "status quo" and a "social change" belief structure as previously described. (Tajfel and Turner 1979) Five character vignettes were drawn up, two describing women, two describing men and one "ideal speaker". For example, Tom is twenty three he has recently left university and plans to get a job in industry, Susan is twenty two she is married and planning to have a family, she works in an office. Two of the characters were "political", ie Liz is twenty three she is actively involved in the women's liberation movement, she works part time, and Bill is twenty two, he is involved in the campaign for nuclear disarmament, he is a community worker. Fifteen young women and fifteen young men (18/19 years old) and fifteen women from various womens groups (ages between 18-26) were asked to rate each of the five characters on forty speech characteristics (thirty of which had been previously sex differentiated in Kramer's study (1978), according to how typical or untypical the subject believed the speech characteristic to be of the character described. The point of these being to elicit stereotypes for

the five characters. Subjects were also asked three general questions; how would you describe this character's behaviour, is this behaviour desirable or undesirable and, is this behaviour "masculine" or "feminine"? These questions along with the ideal speaker ratings were attempting to obtain subjects evaluations of the speech stereotypes. Overall it was found that there were significant differences between the two groups both in terms of the ratings of the speech characteristics and in terms of the evaluations.

In terms of Giles' theory of accommodation, the school pupils, identified as having a "status quo" belief structure appeared to be emphasising the differences between women and men. However in their ratings of the ideal speaker they appeared to admire a combination of speech styles giving high ratings to such characteristics as "assertive" and "straight to the point" as well as "supportive" and "polite". These findings could be explained in two different ways, first, it might be the case that the questionnaires did not describe a character who the schoolpupils thought would combine speech styles; or second, it might be the case that while in theory the schoolpupils valued a character who combined speech styles, in practice they would rate such a person as undesirable because he or she was crossing over the sex role boundaries. From examination of the character Liz, the feminist, to whom the schoolpupils attributed essentially masculine characteristics at the expense of feminine characteristics and who was described by this group as being very undesirable, it would appear that the second explanation holds more weight. Thus this group could be described as adopting a divergent strategy in emphasising the value of the differences between women and men.

The group of feminists who were identified as having a social change belief structure appeared to be both converging and diverging. This group

valued a combination of "feminine" and "masculine" characteristics. This could be seen in their rating of the ideal speaker and in the character Liz whose ratings closely matched the combination of "feminine" and "masculine" characteristics of the ideal speaker, as well as being rated as desirable. In addition, their rating of the character Susan who used "feminine" characteristics to the exclusion of "masculine" was rated as neither particularly desirable or undesirable. Thus the findings of this study illustrated that a group which was identified as seeing the situation in intergroup terms and who were therefore expected to adopt a divergent strategy could be said to be neither converging nor diverging, while the group who were expected to adopt convergence as a strategy could be said to adopting a strategy that was closer to divergence.

The conclusion from this study as regards strategies was that it is hard to see exactly what constitutes convergence and divergence. Hymes (1972) has commented that convergence may not necessarily imply an attempt to gain approval, especially where women and men are considered. This can be illustrated in the situation where, for example, a man interacting with a woman and trying to impress her is unlikely to do so by modelling his behaviour on hers, but is more likely to maintain or even exaggerate his own speech style and behaviour. Here there may well be a conflict between accommodative tendencies and constraints to behave according to sexual norms and stereotypes. While these norms may be acknowledged and subscribed to by both people, the outcome as regards speech is not easy to predict. However it was noted that the differences in the ratings between these two groups would serve to emphasise the importance in taking into consideration the variations within gender groups of the identity perspectives.

To summarise, considerable attention has been paid to the description of sex stereotypes and in general there is a consensus about which traits are attributed to women and men. As with work concerning stereotypes of other groups it would seem that higher status groups tend to be characterised in terms of social competence and lower status groups in terms of warmth or social skills. The overlap of the stereotypes of different status groups lends support to Tajfel's claim of the relative lack of variety in the content of stereotypes held about minority groups.(Tajfel 1981) As regards the evaluation of the stereotypes, it appears that we need to reconsider the claims of the female stereotype being devalued relative to the male. There have been various different explanations advocated for these findings which need to be assessed.

Generally it should be noted that there is a lack of consideration of the social context in which these stereotypes are maintained and reinforced which has led to confusion as to the importance of sexual stereotypes. There are clearly many questions remaining unanswered here. For example, what happens when speech stereotypes are in the listeners' cognitive maps, yet are not confirmed in the sender's speech styles? Does the listener perceptually bias the behaviour in terms of the stereotype anyway? Giles has commented that if speech differences are defined in terms of what people feel they hear rather than what actually occurs in their speech, then the former could be psychologically more important.

Before concluding this review of social psychological research a description will be given of some social psychological studies which do not specifically concentrate on women and men as groups but which deal with general aspects of accommodation theory which are relevant to the work in this thesis.

First, some studies have illustrated the importance of emphasising individual's subjective perceptions of social interaction, Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire (1982) examined the prediction that initial convergence occurs when speakers of different statuses interact to achieve mutual and cooperative goals. However it was found that speakers in this situation sometimes diverged. The apparent conflicts between the predictions of speech accommodation theory and the nature of the data emerging from these investigations were resolved in a study which investigated the speakers' subjective explanations. It was found that while objectively divergence occurred, subjects reported that they had converged to their partners in the way that they expected them to speak. Three main conclusions were drawn from this work. First, that it is too simplistic an explanation that speech accommodation always implies social differentiation. Second, linguistic shifts that are measured and seen as being convergent or divergent shifts do not necessarily reflect the way in which the speaker believes he or she is moving. Clearly more attention needs to be paid to individual's perception and accounts of their speech behaviour.

A second point related to the perception and awareness of speakers, has been raised by Giles (1977) in the distinction that he draws between speech markers being communicative or informative. Here communicative is taken to mean intentionally derived and informative is unintentionally derived but where the listener picks up certain cues from the speaker without the speakers knowledge but which allows the listener to make certain inferences. Giles suggests that there may be three reasons to account for this situation. First, that the speaker's attention is being directed to other salient aspects of the conversation. Second, that the

speaker may be unaware of the social significance of certain linguistic variables, or third, the speaker may be aware that the linguistic feature has certain social significance but refuses to acknowledge using it in their own speech. Clearly asking about a speakers awareness raises certain problems. While it has been stated many times that speech markers are dynamic, continually changing in response to circumstances and as a result of the underlying organisational and identity maintenance functions, many of these studies seem to search for a consistent linguistic strategy. Therefore they should be investigated using methodology that allows for this flexibility. This point applies not only to actual interaction but also to the accounts given of interaction as will be demonstrated in chapter three.

Finally, it was found that subjective linguistic convergence implying psychological convergence can fulfill different functions for different speakers, in this case, cognitive organisation for a high status speaker and identity maintenance for a low status speaker. Another example related to this point where examination of subjective perceptions of the situation might help understanding as to when convergence or divergence is likely to occur is where there is a professional relationship existing between the two speakers. (Giles 1977) Here normative and accommodative tendencies could well be operating simultaneously. While the "professional" whether a doctor, lawyer, priest or another person having a clearly defined role, might have personal feelings towards the client, he or she could consider him or herself limited by the professional role to behave in a particular way towards the client. Here the motivational conflict in determining speech style might result, for example in divergence where convergence would normally be predicted. Given that the research in this thesis focuses on a group of lawyers and examines their attitudes to identity and speech

strategies this point is obviously of relevance here.

To summarise the findings of the social psychological approach. One part of this study of gender and speech has concentrated on the speech markers assigned to the various social groups. It has been found that listeners, on the basis of speech alone can make relatively subtle distinctions, for example, between different attitudes to gender identity or male /female relations. These can be called the "voices" of "masculinity" and "femininity", it is important to note that there are likely to be differences between biological sex and gender, ie a man may use the "voice" of "femininity". "Voices" may be more specific in relation to subgroupings ie the "voices" of a "feminist" as compared with the voice of a woman who holds traditional views. It is an empirical task to identify these voices.

Following on from this task of identifying the voices, a second part has focused on predictions that can be made about the interactional aspects of the use of these voices, in terms of intergroup theory, accommodation, divergence and convergence. It has been found that in cases where differentiation and the emphasis of ingroup membership is expected, this is not always the case. Following on from this it has been found that Giles' predictions of convergence and divergence can not be easily applied in this situation.

As yet it is unclear what linguistic strategies are available, for example, for a woman with a social mobility belief structure. There have been two aspects to the study of these two parts. One line of enquiry has looked at actual speech production and carried out empirical, objective analyses of linguistic features of the voices and concomitant convergence and

divergence. Another line of enquiry has concentrated on the encoding of peoples representations, images and stereotypes of these voices and strategies for convergence and divergence both globally (impressions of tactics open to the whole group) and locally (subjective impressions of a particular convergent/ divergent response in face to face interaction). The relation between these two parts is complex.

Therefore a social psychological approach would seem to have the potential to take into account the dynamics of speech in social interaction. Using this approach communication can be seen in terms of reciprocal processes in which the actions of each participant in an interaction are constantly interpreted and given meanings by the other participants. If we are to understand why individuals acquire, use and react to language and its varieties in the way they do, we need a greater understanding of such elements of dynamic intentions, motivations and attitudes, all of which can be classed as social psychological phenomena.

METHODOLOGY

It is important at this point before returning to the criticisms of previous approaches to consider the methodology used in these studies. The majority of studies using a social psychological approach have adopted a "matched guise" technique, developed by Lambert et al (1960,1967). The aim of this technique is to control all variables except language. This is done by using several speakers or actors who are tape-recorded usually reading a prose passage, the same passage each time only alternating speech style. Thus it appears that there are more speakers than there actually are. Listeners are then asked to make various attributions or evaluations of the speakers and any differences in ratings are taken to be

because of the difference in speech style. Since the same speaker spoke both passages, listeners cannot be responding to different personal voice qualities, and as content has been controlled, differences in ratings cannot be due to what listeners are hearing. There are problems inherent in the matched guise technique, the main one being that speakers are reading a prose passage, thus it is not interaction that is heard and rated but the speakers being judged as performers of readings. While it is interesting to find that subtle distinctions can be made on this basis alone, this is still a stage removed from distinctions and attributions that listeners might make in actual interaction. The alternative which has been adopted in some studies is to have speakers discussing the same topic but not saying the same thing, ie speaking but not reading. This is still limited because once again there is no indication of such speech characteristics as interruptions, reactions to interruptions or turntaking which would seem to be important elements in everyday conversations.

Another problem with the matched guise technique is that it is extremely artificial. As a starting point subjects are brought into a laboratory situation which as commented by many researchers, is a social situation in its own right and will influence subjects reactions. While it is of some use to find out what subjects are able to deduce from speech alone it is important to note that we can usually consider and draw on a wide range of information in impression formation situations. Further it could be suggested that it might be the case that having to listen to the same prose passage several times over leads to boredom and listeners might consequently pay more attention to speech variations than they would normally.

The attribution procedure also need to be questioned that is used in

these studies. Often listeners are asked to rate speakers on various dimensions, for example, whether that speaker is gentle, friendly, rational etc and then if overall they are socially attractive, competent etc. The dimensions selected are often selected from the sexual stereotypes. There are several questions that can be asked here.

First, it might be the case that listeners do not usually make evaluations on the basis of those specific characteristics. By concentrating on stereotypical characteristics and overall attributions we can form ideas of how stereotypes are evaluated but still need to ask whether listeners usually take other factors into account as well for example characteristics that do not make up the sexual stereotypes. Second, as has been described, there is some overlap between group stereotypes care must be taken not to confuse what attributions are being made. Third, many of the studies have examined stereotypical attributions outside of a social context and as discussed earlier this can and has lead to distortion.

Clearly there are methodological problems here which must be resolved. The overall point would seem to be that despite criticisms of the sex differences and sociolinguistic approaches for their study of speech outside of an analysis of social context and in an artificially constructed way, in many instances the social psychological approach with its emphasis on rigid experimental control is in danger of finding itself down the same garden path.

CONCLUSION

It is important at this point to return to the criticisms made earlier of the traditional sociolinguistic approach and consider how satisfactorily a social psychological approach can address and deal with these criticisms.

The sociolinguistic approach was criticised for its emphasis on description and its inability to explain adequately many of the studies findings. This social psychological approach with its use of theoretical concepts such as social identity, intergroup relations and speech accommodation theory has provided a framework to place findings as well as moving towards some predictive formulations. For example, this can be seen particularly clearly in the work on stereotypes where an account can now be taken of how beliefs about speech style differences can be a powerful influence in guiding peoples (including researchers') understanding of social interaction, in many cases being more influential than actual differences.

In other areas however, there are still questions left unanswered for example, although intergroup theory and its use of the interpersonal/intergroup continuum can predict that this will have an important influence in determining choice of speech style, it is still not clear exactly when and why a person perceives a situation in intergroup as compared to interpersonal terms and consequently responds to that perception.

The second criticism that the traditional sociolinguistic approach has isolated sex as a variable for examination, has been addressed to a certain extent by this social psychological approach which has looked at variations in salience of sex. These studies are important in showing that in many situations other factors may be more salient than sex in determining response to speech style and, further, that it is the interrelation of sex with other variables which results in different evaluations and use of speech style. It now seems likely that speech variations previously assumed to be sex-causative are instead better thought of as sex-associated. Therefore these studies have been useful in showing that the isolation of sex as a

variable and the failure to consider its meaning in different contexts can actually result in a distortion of the resulting picture of social interaction. Although a person's sex is liable to determine the ways in which he or she is thought of and treated by others in many situations, sex may be salient in some contexts and irrelevant in others.

Third, the point that sociolinguistics has looked at correlations between speech styles and large scale social groups has been taken into consideration. Studies investigating the relation of gender identity with attitudes and evaluations of speech and the consideration of individuals' different belief structures has shown that there are variations between members of a group both in terms of attitudes to speech and to speech production. In many cases speakers subjective identifications with a particular social category and their beliefs about membership of that category have been shown to be more likely to determine their speech characteristics than any objective classification imposed on them by investigators. (Giles, Scherer and Taylor 1979)

In terms of social change, while this social psychological approach has allowed some consideration of change, the formulations are rather vague as to what a "social change" group, in this case groups sharing a feminist belief structure, would adopt as linguistic strategies. Different studies have shown feminists adopting different strategies which is what would be expected given the varied definitions of what it means to "be a feminist" and the different perspectives as to effective forms of action encompassed within feminism. This obviously makes a mockery of making simple divisions between "feminist" and "non-feminists" and expecting to find straightforward, consistent differences in representations of speech strategies between the two groups. The problem is that as yet, there has

not been sufficient examination of the different perspectives held by women, as to either gender identity or to available linguistic strategies.

It can also be suggested that any woman whatever her belief structure, is unlikely to consistently maintain one particular linguistic strategy, but instead would be expected to switch between several according to her perception of the situation and the effectiveness of the different strategies in that context. Therefore the next step is to consider both identity and speech in greater depth and try to see if these expectations are reasonable.

CHAPTER THREE

A Q SORT STUDY OF THE IDENTITY PERSPECTIVES OF WOMEN LAWYERS

Following on from chapter two which outlined a social psychological approach the next stage will be to consider whether there is a relation between the different perspectives towards gender identity as outlined by Tajfel and Turner (Social change, social mobility and status quo), and speech strategies. As outlined in chapter two there are still problems with Accommodation theory as applied to women and men as social groups and there is a need for reconsideration of both the meaning of social identity in a particular situation and the conception or relevance of convergence and divergence here. Therefore this chapter will focus on Giles' claim that the speech styles and evaluations of those speech styles associated with social groups can be used by those groups to stress their particular social identity. This chapter and the following one will describe two Q sort studies carried out with a group of women lawyers to investigate this claim.

Giles predicts that strong group identification will result in divergence, ie maintenance or emphasis of the speech style associated with the group, while interpersonal perception of the situation will give rise to a convergent strategy, ie a movement towards the outgroup speech style or positive evaluation of that speech style. However, in this situation and in practical terms this would mean that a women conversing with a man and wanting to accommodate would move towards his speech style - adopting more "masculine" stereotypical speech characteristics possibly by becoming more assertive, talking more and initiating more. It seems unlikely that this would be seen as accommodation. It could be suggested that a woman in

this situation would be more likely to signal accommodation by behaving as she was expected to behave, ie as laid down by the stereotype which would mean emphasising her "feminine" characteristics. Similarly when considering representations and evaluations of speech styles as opposed to actual speech, it could be suggested that accommodation would be shown through positive evaluation of the current group stereotypical behaviour.

On the other hand Giles predicts that linguistic divergence will occur when a person perceives an interaction in intergroup terms and wants to assert their group membership, so this is what would be expected of a "social change" group. However, once again, in practise this would mean that a woman who saw herself as a feminist and was wanting social change when interacting with a man and seeing the interaction in intergroup terms, would emphasise her own group characteristics, ie emphasise the value of "feminine" stereotypical characteristics, taking a more passive, supportive approach in the conversation. Yet in many situations this would be an ineffective linguistic strategy for a woman to adopt who wanted to attempt social change as it would be most likely to be interpreted as a perpetuation of traditional female sex roles. Once again when considering speech strategies, what would be expected?

Previous research has shown that different belief structures result in different perceptions and evaluations of the speech styles. There are two other points to note here. First, this theory needs to take account of the particular social context. For example in some social interactions it would be appropriate for a woman who strongly identified with being a woman, saw the relations between women and men in intergroup terms and wanted to change them, to adopt a linguistic strategy which emphasised the importance and value of "feminine" characteristics. For example in a group

of feminist women where there is a shared understanding and motivation for a change in social relations then emphasis of caring, supportive and personal speech could be effective and safe. However the same would not be true in the situation of a political campaign, even if it was the same group of women taking part.

Second, there are presumably several different linguistic strategies open to a person and the choice between them would vary according to such factors as how that person understood underlying sex differences or similarities and exactly what aspects of social structure were seen as needing to be changed. For example within a group of women who identified with being "feminists" there are likely to be different ideas about the most appropriate way to move towards change which in turn is likely to result in different linguistic strategies being adopted.

For example, if a woman sees "being a woman" as meaning redefining the "feminine" and positive qualities of being supportive, nurturant and emotional she is likely to convey this in a different way to a woman who identifies equally strongly with "being a woman" but who sees the way forward as adopting what are usually labelled as "masculine" qualities ie showing men that women are equally competent, assertive, capable and can achieve in a man's world while at the same time holding on to her identity as a woman. Both women can be seen to have strong gender identities and to reject the status quo which devalues women, yet they would be likely to differ considerably in life styles, values and in the way they put this across ie in the way they interacted.

Condor follows up some the problems raised by social identity and comments on several assumptions that are made by social identity theory

which need to be questioned. This obviously has implications for accommodation theory as well. (Condor 1983) Social identity theory holds that women who see the relations between women and men in group terms and who question the devaluation of women relative to men in our social structure ie women with a "social change" perspective who have a strong gender identity and will consequently adopt group based strategies for change. On the other hand it is assumed that women with a "traditional perspective" towards sex role stratification will see themselves in purely personal individualistic terms with a weak and presumably negative gender identification. It is assumed that this group in accepting the status quo relations will not perceive any alternatives to the situation. Condor goes on to illustrate that the situation is not so simplistic and that sex role ideology and self perception have been mistakenly confused here. She shows how women with a "traditional" perspective can have strong and positive identification with their gender group.

On the other hand she suggests that there are women who hold a "radical" perspective who disidentify with their group and who, while advocating change, adopt individualistic strategies. It is important to consider these different groups here as clearly these different perspectives towards identity have important implications to this study of speech in terms of the linguistic strategies that women see as being available and desirable. Also it is obviously of central importance to see whether the distinctions within groups will be apparent in the factors emerging from the lawyers sorting of both the identity and speech Q sorts.

The cells that Condor outlines are summarised in diagrammatic form in table 3:1

TABLE 3:1 CATEGORISATIONS OF BELIEF STRUCTURE
AND GENDER IDENTIFICATION
Sex Role Ideology

<u>Gender Identification</u>	Radical	Traditional
Strong	1. Social Change	3. Group Identification (no change in intergroup relations)
Weak	2. Individualistic strategies Social mobility	4. Status Quo

Cell one signifies strong identification with gender group, the sex role status quo is not accepted, there is a political awareness of the devaluation of women in this society and consequently the belief that collective action is needed to change the situation. Alongside this is a redefinition of what it means to be a woman and a positive evaluation of this.

Cell two shares a "radical" political perception of sex role ideology with cell one, yet here there is not strong identification with being a woman in terms of self perception. Instead there is dis-identification and the belief of "not being like other women".

Cell three refers to women who have a traditional perspective regarding the roles of women and men and who themselves identify with the role in these terms which they also evaluate positively. ie "Women acting on the basis of collective identity, without challenging traditional definitions of their place".

Cell four is called "Traditional dis-identification". Women falling within this category see sex roles in traditional ways and most likely attempt to disidentify with being women due to the negative identity that they see as

resulting from this membership while not seeing "cognitive alternatives" to this situation.

The main point to note here is that identification with women as a group is not confined to women who oppose the status quo. Following on from this point it is useful to bear in mind Condor's conclusion that

"Womanhood as a social institution may be manifested in various ways according to the way in which women perceive their sex."

Condor 1983

Obviously Condor's findings have implications for earlier studies concerning the relation between identity and speech and the confusion as regards the linguistic strategies being adopted by the different groups. To summarise this confusion, in some cases groups with a social change belief structure, who can be equated with Condor's description of "radical" women, valued a combination of traits ie a combination of stereotypical "feminine" and "masculine" characteristics whereas in a study concerning actual speech the "radical women" were described as more "masculine" and less "feminine" and it appeared that this group was displaying a more clearcut case of linguistic convergence. It can now be suggested that the first "radical" group whose political beliefs and emphasis on collective action is best represented in cell one while the group in the second study held views and were acting in closer correspondence to cell two.

In this first study an attempt is made to examine perceptions and evaluations of social identity held by a group of women lawyers. This group were selected for several reasons, first, this is a group of women moving into a professional and potentially powerful position. It is

interesting to see how these women respond to "powerful" and "powerless" speech forms in this position. Second, law is a profession that has been male-dominated but is currently in a state of change, with more women entering training. In Edinburgh at the time that this research was carried out, approximately 51% women and 49% ^{men} were in the law faculty. It would therefore be expected that there will be a varying perceptions of gender identity and different ways of coping with entering a world which is firmly grounded on traditional "masculine" values demonstrated by the women who make up this group.

This study considers gender identity within the context of work as a lawyer and it is hoped that by focusing on the specific social context of the interaction between lawyers and their clients, a less artificial consideration will be generated than by a non-specific questionnaire evaluation. This is the first step in attempting to answer the question what is the relation between identity and speech when accounting for gender groups? Here Q sort technique is used to identify different social identities in this context and to ask whether the emerging factors correspond to Tajfel and Turner's three basic categories and Condor's four cells.

Q SORT METHODOLOGY

This study uses Q methodology in investigating gender identity to elicit participants self descriptions, in their own terms. This is a technique invented by William Stephenson in the 1930's and is currently being reassessed and widely used (Kitzinger 1984, Kitzinger and Stainton Rogers 1985). Q technique has been used in various ways, within an "essentialist" and a "constructionist" framework. The former refers to the situation where the Q sort is given external meaning by researchers and is used to measure

the level of the individual's adjustment to various criteria such as mental health. (Rogers 1959) Researchers therefore decide beforehand which items indicate a "mentally healthy" individual. In this respect there is a "correct" Q sort.

A "constructionist" approach does not consider whether there is a Q sort which represents the best adjustment, in this case the best "identity adjustment" in the context of law. No attempt is made to decide whether one account is more valid or closer to the "truth" than other accounts. Instead the idea is to examine the different perspectives that emerge as regards identity, with no concomitant evaluation.

The studies in this thesis use Q sort methodology within a constructionist approach, the interest is in eliciting lawyers' self descriptions as regards identity and speech. This is in contrast to most research carried out using a traditional social scientific framework which usually adopts the researcher's vision of the world and measures up accounts using the researchers' construct as the measuring stick.

Full descriptions of the history and development of Q methodology can be found in other texts (Brown 1980, Kitzinger 1986, Stephenson 1953). Basically it involves getting each participant to sort a set of objects according to their own subjective assessment. So instead of receiving a set of scores "objectively" allocated, the subject ranks the items relative to each other in terms of his or her construction. The individual orders these objects (which can take many forms, eg pictures, written passages, statements, cartoons) in rank order ranging from positions of strong agreement (+5), to strong disagreement (-5). In this study a set of sixty one statements concerning identity form the Q sort set. A completed sort

gives a model of that person's subjective view as regards identity. The Q sort which is the resulting rank ordering can then be placed with other peoples' Q sorts and factor analysed. The results of the factor analysis represents clusters or groupings of people who have sorted the statements in a similar way. The factors can be interpreted in terms of commonly shared perspectives, in this case commonly held perspectives as regards identity.

As with the selection of any Q sort items, an attempt was made to select the widest range of statements as possible. The statements in this Q sort set were all selected from the preliminary interviews using the phrases and the words that the lawyers commonly used to express their views. As a basis for this selection, statements embodying the three belief structures, status quo, social mobility and social change, as outlined earlier, were chosen to form the set. This was in order that a consideration of the results of both Q sort studies will provide some answer to the question formulated earlier namely, is there a relation between identity perspectives and speech when dealing with gender groups? In this respect there was a "formal" structuring of the different accounts expected to emerge. Equal numbers of items relating to the three perspectives were used to ensure that people who might hold such a perspective would be able to represent their views adequately. (See Appendix I for identity Q sort statements).

METHOD

The statements were randomly numbered and typed onto 4X6 inch cards and distributed alongwith instructions and response sheets, to all participants. (See Appendix II for Instructions) The response sheet included

a diagram showing how the statements should be ordered. Participants were asked to sort the statements into a quasi normal distribution.

The response sheet also include three general questions; general feelings about the Q sort technique, whether it seemed an effective way of representing the participants perspective, the placing of the statements and any specific strategies adopted in this task, and interpretation of statements, for example, any that seemed ambiguous, further explanation of interpretations.

PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this Q sort study were a group of forty women lawyers, thirty of these women had been previously interviewed. (See appendix IX for interview format and chapter five for further analysis of interviews.) Of the additional ten women, five of them were friends of the women who had been interviewed and who expressed interest in taking part in the study, they were also lawyers living in Edinburgh, the remaining five were living in London and practising in solicitors offices. They had been contacted through a friend. The ages of the women ranged from early twenties through to mid forties with approximately a quarter having worked previously in other jobs. All the participants completed the Q sorts at home and in their own time, no woman failed to complete the response sheet in the manner required.

RESULTS

The forty completed Q sorts were analysed using factor analysis (principal components)(Nie et al 1975) and resulted in ten factors which were rotated to simple structure (varimax criterion). The results showed

that the original forty sets of rankings reduce to ten independent sortings, ie there are ten differentiable accounts of identity reported by these lawyers. Appendix III shows the factor loadings for each participant. For each factor, the participants who had high loadings on any particular factor and relatively low loadings on the other factors were selected to define that identity perspective. Then, for each factor, the separate Q sorts of the women who defined that factor, were merged, taking account of factor weights (Spearman 1927 Appendix IV) which resulted in one set of factor scores for the statements (Appendix V). The relative factor scores were examined to produce an interpretation of the factors. The accounts produced in the interviews and the response sheets were also drawn on in this interpretation. Detailed description of the interpretation of the first eight factors which together explain 80% of the variance, is given in the discussion; the remaining two factors were not included in the interpretation as the women who had high loadings on these factors also gained relatively high loadings on other factors. Factors four, five, seven and eight were each defined by one woman, the interpretation is included here, based on the raw Q sort rankings.

DISCUSSION

FACTOR ONE A "Feminist Perspective"

Statements which refer to the importance of attempting change for women in the law are given the strongest positive placings in this factor. Gender identity is seen as important and is positively valued, there is identification with being a feminist and with feminist principles unlike any other factor. The status quo relations and evaluations are rejected as seen in the placing of statements which comment on both the impossibility of

change or of the unsuitability of women as lawyers. General social change is seen as important and ideas are expressed about making the law more accessible and attempting this as a group based strategy.

6 +5 There is a need for women to go into law in order to create an image or a model of a woman in order for the face of law to change.

60 +5 It's bad enough having legal problems as a woman without having an unpleasant experience with a lawyer who is very likely to be middle-class and male and who can't empathise with what you're talking about.

Identification with being a feminist is explicitly stated

36 +5 I want to combine my feminist principles with my practise as a lawyer.

Overall gender identity is a central focus of this Q sort factor

61 +3 My identity as a woman is more important to me than my identity as a lawyer.

There is also disagreement with negative evaluation of women and "feminine" capabilities expressed here

43 -5 I don't know how good a lawyer I'll make because I think I might be oversympathetic towards the client.

Similarly there is strong disagreement with statements commenting on the unchangeable nature of traditional female sex roles.

- 38 -5 I think it's inevitable that most women value settling down and having a family more than having a career.
- 2 -5 It's reasonable that employers are reluctant to employ women as they will leave to have a family.

So change is given an important emphasis in this factor. Priority is given to statements which refer to change for women, and this is seen as both desirable and possible.

- 18 +3 I want to use my law training specifically to help women.

Statements which refer to general social change are also given positive placings

- 17 +4 I think it's important to try to change the class bias in law alongside the sexist bias.
- 35 +3 As a lawyer I want to make the law more accessible.

Overall this factor would seem to relate closely to Tajfel and Turners' "social change" description as regards gender identification and also Condor's description in cell one of women who have a radical attitude towards sex roles and also strongly identify with women as a group, most likely with the concomitant redefinition of what it means to be a woman.

FACTOR TWO "General social change"

This factor emphasises the importance of going into law to move towards general social change. While traditional attitudes towards women and work are rejected, change as regards women in relation to the law

takes secondary importance and the strategy advocated is more an individualistic one, the belief that women must show that they are equally capable and can succeed as lawyers while retaining their "feminine" qualities. Thus differences between women and men are acknowledged and the attitude is a "different but equal" perspective.

The statements that are given greatest emphasis here are those commenting on changing the law.

- 35 +5 As a lawyer I want to make the law more accessible.
- 23 +4 I'll continue with law even if I see a lot that's wrong with it because you're only able to do something about it if you're knowledgeable about what goes on.

Statements concerning ways of going about this change are also given priority

- 47 +5 Lawyers must work as a group towards changing the law and how it is practised rather than individually.

In this sense there appears to be a general social change perspective ie the importance of working as a group towards change. Yet unlike factor one the place of women in the law is not given primary importance and there is clear disagreement with feminist principles (The placings of I1 are in brackets.)

- 18 -4 I want to use my law training specifically to help women.
- 36 -3 (+5) I want to combine my feminist principles with my practise as a lawyer.

In this way there is contrast with 11 as the women emphasise that they are not doing law as a feminist statement, comments from the response sheet reinforce this disagreement

"To do this would be to create further bias against men. If bias against women truly exists we must set an example to men about avoiding it.

"I think this is a dangerous attitude. If women want to be treated equally, they should treat women and men equally".

"Men need just as much help as women. Positive discrimination is just as bad as negative."

So while statements concerning change for women in law are seen as important the attitude towards being a woman lawyer suggests a more individualistic strategy of showing that women make as competent and successful lawyers as men.

34 +4 There are so few women in law particularly
in the forefront of law that they should
see it as a challenge.

12 shows a radical perspective as regards sex roles and does not see them as either fixed and unchangeable. There is disagreement with statements which suggest that women are unsuited to law and of devaluation of women's capabilities.

20 -5 I think men may be more suited to the top
positions in the legal profession.

2 -4 It's reasonable that employers are reluctant
to employ women as they will leave to have
a family.

A comment made concerning this statement on one response sheet makes this clear,

"I agree that probably a man would be given a job in preference to a woman but I don't agree that this cannot be changed."

32 -2 I think it's natural that a lot of women are more interested in family law.

It is interesting to consider the comments made relating to this statement as they elucidate the general perspective concerning sex roles shown in this factor.

The belief seems to be that there are differences between women and men

"I think it is ridiculous to say that there are no differences between men and women. The fact that there are differences is what we ought to develop since women are better than men at certain things and vice versa. We should find out what these differences are and exploit them."

This goes some way in explaining the self identification of GL, WF and OL, the women who define this factor.

The idea seems to be that women are better suited to some areas of law and therefore should move into these areas thus shaping and modifying law into a sort of "woman's domain" while simultaneously men move into alternative areas of law which suit their roles. Thus within these specific "areas" for example family law women would not be "token women" and would bring "feminine characteristics" to bear on the law.

42 +4 I want to use my law training in such a way
that I don't have to repress the fact that
I'm a woman.

GL comments

"I don't think you ever have to repress the fact that
you're a woman."

54 +3 I don't want to go into law which is a male
world the epitome of male oriented society and
accept that I've got to be a token female.

However this attitude to gender identity seems to be contradicted by the
placing of statement four

4 +5 As a lawyer I would like to be appreciated
not as a woman, not as a man, but just as a
lawyer as someone who knows what the law is
about.

NM comments on this statement saying

"As a lawyer I wish only to be seen as that in my job.
Outwith it, I am a person mainly but a woman when it suits
me".

and in her interview WF adds

"I wouldn't like to be thought of as "Oh she's a female
lawyer" I just want to be treated the same as everyone else."

Possibly the contradiction can best be understood by considering that
the attitude towards the place of women and men in law and identification
with gender groups shown by this factor is that women and men are

"different but equal". So while there is sexual differentiation of abilities, this is beneficial and the most should be made of it while at the same time there should be "equal" evaluation.

FACTOR THREE "Traditional" perspective

This factor is defined by one woman and is characterised by a traditional view of the role of women which is extended into women's role in law. There is strong gender identification in this factor in terms of traditional ideas of what it means to be a woman. While TW hopes to retain these characteristics and be seen as a woman, these characteristics are seen as incompatible with those needed to be a good lawyer and consequently lack of self confidence and self esteem is seen in this factor. TW is uncertain that she will continue with law.

- 38 +5 I think it's inevitable that most women value having a family and settling down more than having a career.
- 32 +5 I think it's natural that a lot of women are most interested in family law.
- 12 +3 I want to specialise in family law as I see it as a way of specifically helping women whether with divorce, child-custody, domestic violence or whatever.

There is strong gender identification illustrated here, TW does not want to be seen as exceptional or special, nor to be seen in "neutral" terms

- 54 +3 I don't want to go into law which is a male world, the epitome of male oriented society and accept that I've got to be a token female.
- 42 +3 I want to use my law training in such a way that I don't have to repress the fact that I'm a woman.

However the traditional "feminine" characteristics are seen as being a disadvantage in the context of law

- 44 +2 I'm doubtful of the mark women can make
on the law because they're women.
- 49 +4 I think as a lawyer I might get too involved
in the cases.
- 19 +5 I find the competition in law offputting.
- 50 +3 I think women may lack the necessary ambition
to motivate them to succeed in law.
- 26 +2 I think women lawyers may not be able to .
disassociate themselves from a case as well
as a man can.

The women who defined this factor were the only ones who agreed with statement fifty six

- 56 +2 I don't think women are able to remain
sufficiently uninvolved to make them really
good lawyers.

Therefore this acceptance of the status quo results in a low estimation of self and of being in a professional position.

- 51 -5 I like the idea of a certain degree of power
- 9 -5 Sometimes I see myself as a professional,
having specialised knowledge and abilities.
- 16 -1 I chose law as I see it as a way of standing
on my own two feet.
- 45 -3 Being a lawyer gives me confidence.

and similarly a low evaluation of the importance of having a career

- 58 -4 My career is as important to me as it would
be to a man.

There is no indication that alternatives can be seen to the status quo or ways of changing the social structure even though it is seen as having a negative effect

- 2 +4 It's reasonable that employers are reluctant
to employ women as they will leave to have
a family.
- 14 +3 You can't change the fact that if a woman
is as good as a man applying for a job,
the man will get it.

It is maybe unsurprising that some uncertainty is expressed as regards staying in the law

- 37 +2 I don't think I will continue with law.

Overall then, this factor represents a traditional perspective as regards sex roles, a strong gender identification but considerable uncertainty that women have the qualities seen as being necessary for law, and consequently a low self evaluation within law or within a career structure.

FACTOR FOUR "Satisfying job"

This is essentially a factor reflecting the personal satisfactions from having a good job, not necessarily in law, but of the extrinsic rewards that come from being in a satisfying job in particular the personal and economic independence that it brings. Occupational identity is more important than gender identity in this factor and there is no uncertainty or doubt about the

importance of making a good and competent lawyer. KN who defines this factor derives positive self esteem from being a lawyer. General social change is part of her motivation to do law, but it does not given the same importance as in I2 or I6.

27 +5 I'm doing law for the purely practical reason of wanting a good job at the end.

Kn comments about the importance she places on a job or career in her interview

"A career, as far as I'm concerned is useful in that it gives me money to do other things".

"I'm not very career minded so I rate it as highly as it pays me money to do. Which is why if another job came along I would probably drop law, I wouldn't be prepared to stick it. I like teaching, I like teaching very much but there was no money in it therefore I dropped teaching, so it's not prime consideration."

Having expressed her evaluation of career in general KN focuses on statements which comment on the particular aspects of doing law from which she derives satisfaction.

33 +5 I enjoy law as it exercises my mind.

29 +4 For me being a lawyer is a means of fulfilling all the things I want to do as far as job satisfaction is concerned.

15 +2 I like the idea of huge earning ability in certain areas of law.

51 +2 I like the idea of getting a certain degree of power.

There is strong rejection of uncertainty about being a lawyer

37 -5 I don't think I will continue with law

31 -4 I have no burning desire to do law.

There is some indication of wanting change within the law

35 +4 As a lawyer I want to make the law more
accessible

but emphasis on change is not the primary motivation as seen in I2, and change as regards women's role in law is not attributed the same importance as in I1. Essentially the attitude towards gender identification is of disassociation

4 +4 As a lawyer I want to be appreciated not as
a woman, not as a man, but as someone
who knows what the law is about.

In this way this factor along with I2, I5, I6 and I7, illustrates an individualistic approach as regards gender identity.

FACTOR FIVE "Professional perspective"

This factor is similar in many ways to I4 in giving the greatest importance to statements which refer to the value of having a good job and the personal satisfactions coming from that. Yet in this factor there is stronger identification with being a "career woman" and of being a professional.

29 +5 For me being a lawyer is a means of fulfilling

all the things as far as job satisfaction is concerned.

- 33 +5 I enjoy law as it exercises my mind.
- 21 +5 I enjoy the respect others give you when you say you're a lawyer.
- 45 +4 Being a lawyer gives me confidence.
- 9 +4 Sometimes I see myself as a professional, having specialised knowledge and ability.

Yet here is one difference between I4 and I5, this factor gives a positive albeit not strongly positive placing to statement twenty eight (I4's placing is in brackets).

- 28 +2 I see myself as a career woman.

Also, as in I4 this positive assessment of occupational identity is reinforced by rejection of statements that suggest disinterest in law

- 31 -4 I have no burning desire to do law.
- 37 -5 I don't think I will continue with law.

As in I4, as regards attitude to gender identity it would appear that occupational identity is given greater importance than gender identity. Few statements concerning the role of women as lawyers or the need for change of the position of women are given high positive placings

- 61 0 My identity as a woman is more important to me than my identity as a lawyer.

Thus there would appear to be an essentially individualistic, social mobility perspective as regards gender identity reflected in both these factors. Another difference between I4 and I5 is that JA who defines this factor, I5, shows strong rejection of statements which question women's capabilities in law thus showing a positive evaluation of women and of the assumption that there are differences can be seen (I4's placing of the statements is given in brackets)

- 20 -5 (+1) I think men may be more suited to the top positions in the legal profession.
- 26 -4 (-1) I think women lawyers may not be able to disassociate themselves from a case as well as a man can.
- 50 -4 (0) I think women may lack the necessary ambition to motivate them to succeed in law.
- 55 -5 (+1) I think men may make better lawyers than women because they are more analytical.

JA comments on the response sheet about these placings

"Many of the statements that I marked at a high disagreement factor I did so more out of indignity than anything else. The statements relating to women in the profession - their being less analytical than men - perhaps it is true but seeing quite a few similarly minded statements in the pile annoyed me and that was probably the decisive factor that made me put them at the disagreement end."

Another difference that emerges between I4 and I5 concerns change. While KN gave some indication that she thought certain changes were needed in law JA appears to disagree with change. Possibly this is because the personal rewards of being a professional and all that goes with having achieved a degree of status is part of JA's motivation for being a lawyer

which she does not want to see undermined.

35 -1 (+4) As a lawyer I want to make the law more accessible.

17 -2 (+2) I think it's important to try to change the class bias in law alongside the sexist bias.

6 -2 (+2) There is a need for women to go into law in order to create an image or a model of a woman lawyer in order for the face of law to change.

Similarly with statement eleven which comments on wanting change as well as personal satisfaction, there is a noticeable difference in JA and KN's placing of this statement.

11 +1 (+5) Ideally I hope to combine personal satisfaction from being a lawyer with an attempt to change it in some ways.

In conclusion this factor emphasises an individualistic approach to being a lawyer, and values the personal satisfactions gained from the job. No need for change is expressed here.

FACTOR SIX "Change in class structure"

The importance of trying to change the law is the main emphasis in this factor. However the women who define this factor show some uncertainty as to whether they have the confidence to achieve the changes they see as being necessary, which are essentially to fight the class bias in the legal profession. Alongside the focus on statements referring to legal change and ways of going about this there is a rejection of professionalism and of the power and control that goes with being in a professional position. Gender identity does not play an important part here, if anything there is

deemphasis with some inclination to see women and their place in law in a traditional way.

17 +5 I think it's important to try to change the class bias in law alongside the sexist bias.

53 +5 At the moment I see law as a rich man's instrument and it seems to me that lawyers should be working towards making it a poor man's instrument as well.

AB comments on her belief that an end to the class bias in law is needed more urgently than changes for women.

"The thing that struck me at interviews for getting places, I don't know, it's not so much whether you're a female, it's more your general class background. That's where the prejudice still is. I was quite amazed, some of my interviews, I didn't get upset, but I was asked what my father did, what was my family background. It really surprised me because I wasn't expecting it at all."

It would seem that this is the essential motivation for doing law in this factor

23 +4 I'll continue with the law if I see something wrong with it because you're only able to do something about it if you're knowledgeable about what goes on.

There is also indication here of consideration of how to move towards change

47 +4 Lawyers must work together as a group towards changing the law and how it is practised rather than individually.

There is some indication that sexism in the law needs changing but this seems to take second importance and here once again individualistic strategies seem to be valued

34 +3 There are so few women in law, particularly in the forefront of law that they should see it as a challenge.

Therefore there are certain similarities to I2 in this emphasis on the importance of change. However the differences between these two factors are clear in other respects. There is pessimism as regards the possibility of change and here there is some inconsistency in the placing of statement twenty two

22 +2 You'll only survive as a lawyer if you're prepared to accept the middle-class, conservative values in law.

This introduces some doubt as to whether these changes can be achieved. As regards self evaluation, there is doubt and lack of confidence in having the capabilities to make these changes which contrasts with I2.

1 +3 I don't see myself as sufficiently polished and professional to be a good lawyer.

13 +3 I don't think I would cope very well with people relying on me.

43 +1 I don't know how good a lawyer I'll make because I think I might be oversympathetic towards the client.

There is also a clear rejection of professionalism here which fits together with the social change perspective in that individualistic success is

not seen as particularly desirable, nor personal gain the motivation for doing law

- 9 -5 Sometimes I see myself as a professional
 having specialised knowledge and abilities
- 51 -5 I like the idea of getting a certain degree
 of power.
- 45 -4 Being a lawyer gives me confidence.
- 57 -4 My image of myself as a lawyer is of someone
 who is very much in control of the work
 doing.

This is accompanied with a less determined intention to stay in law than seen in other factors.

- 31 +2 I have no burning desire to do law
- 7 +2 I ended up doing law as I couldn't think of
 anything else to do.

The attitude towards sex roles illustrated here shows some indication of the belief that women may not be wholly suited to law.

- 20 +1 I think men may be suited to the top
 positions in the legal profession.
- 26 +2 I think women lawyers may not be able to
 disassociate themselves from a case as well
 as a man can.
- 38 +1 I think it's inevitable that most women value
 settling down and having a family more than
 having a career.

so overall there is an inclination to see sex roles in a traditional way. Alongside the general deemphasis of the importance of gender identity

seen in this Q sort this is also made explicit in the placing of statement sixty one,

61 -4 My identity as a woman is more important to
 me than my identity as a lawyer.

The factor overall conveys emphasis of change in the class structure being most important, but considerable uncertainty that this is possible, certainly as regards making any personal attempt. It would seem as though this factor is close to Condor's description of women who see sex roles in essentially a traditional way and at the same time do not identify strongly with "being a woman". In this sense this factor is closest to Tajfel and Turner's "Status Quo" group as regards gender identity.

FACTOR SEVEN "Career woman"

This factor seems to be closest to the "career woman" image and emphasises the importance of career and of being a "professional". Again the approach is essentially individualistic in several respects, although there are various differences as compared with I4, I5 and I6 which have also been described as "individualistic" as regards gender identity. There is confidence expressed in being a lawyer and of being competent and undeterred by competition (unlike I6). The rewards and the self esteem that YE gains from being in this position means that she does not see change as being desirable and is not attempting it unlike I4. There is disassociation with women as a group and uncertainty about other women achieving unlike I5. In this sense the idea of being different or exceptional is expressed. The position can be seen as a "social mobility" strategy of "passing into the dominant group".

- 28 +3 I think of myself as a career woman.
- 16 +3 I chose law as I see it as a way of standing on my own two feet.

In this factor the professional side of law is valued highly and there is strong identification with being a professional person as well as liking the rewards that go along with being in a high status position.

- 9 +3 Sometimes I see myself as a professional, having specialised knowledge and ability.
- 1 -5 I don't see myself as sufficiently polished and professional to be a good lawyer.
- 13 -5 I don't think I could cope very well with people relying on me.

Therefore there is no inclination to try and "deprofessionalise" the law as seen in other factors.

- 5 -4 As a lawyer I hope to work towards making the law less professional.
- 53 -2 At the moment I see law as a rich man's instrument and it seems to me that lawyers should be working towards making it a poor man's instrument as well.

Thus the statements most highly valued are the ones which describe the personal satisfactions derived from having a career and being in a professional position, particularly the self confidence and capability.

- 45 +5 Being a lawyer gives me confidence.
- 51 +2 I like the idea of getting a certain degree of power.

As regards the position taken about women's place within the law the predominant belief here seems to be that women should go into the law and show men their capabilities.

34 +4 There are so few women in law, particularly in the forefront of law that they should see it as a challenge.

19 -3 I find the competition in law offputting.

There are indications of a social mobility strategy, the belief of being "as good as the men" and intending to show them so most likely by adopting their values and their tactics.

40 +4 I've always enjoyed being with the opposite sex, including working with them, so as a lawyer I just see myself as one of them, no differences between us.

Yet at the same time there is the belief that generally there ARE differences between women and men and uncertainty is expressed about other women's capabilities.

10 -4 I don't think there are any differences between male and female lawyers.

8 +2 I'm not sure that women have the determination to get to the top of the legal profession.

So here there appears to be disassociation from being a woman or of having a strong gender identity. There is indication here that it is important for YE to be acknowledged as being successful as a woman given the difficulties of achieving in a man's world, ie of being seen as special or

exceptional.

46 +2 Women have to be especially good if they
want to get anywhere in law.

54 -5 I don't want to go into law which is a male
world the epitome of male orientated
society and accept that I've got to be
token female.

The additional statements concerning lack of motivation for being a lawyer are maybe surprising given the confident and positive occupational identity that was described earlier

31 +1 I have no burning desire to do law.

27 -4 I'm doing law for the purely practical reason
of wanting a good job at the end.

This can most easily be understood with reference to the interviews which show that YE who defined this factor wants to be an accountant and sees the law training as a means to this end rather than being strongly motivated to do law per se.

FACTOR EIGHT "Christian perspective"

The most striking impression given by this factor is of the low ratings given to the importance of both occupational and gender identity and of general lack of interest in doing law and being a lawyer. Similarly having a career is not highly valued. The motivation to do law seems to be from having a "good job" and deriving certain personal satisfaction from it. Generally there is acceptance of the status quo and rejection of any attempts for change. The woman who defines this factor identifies with

being a Christian and therefore places this before these considerations of gender or occupation.

The statements given highest ratings reflect uncertainty about doing law and the expectation of leaving law.

7 +5 I ended up doing law as I couldn't think of anything else to do.

31 +5 I have no burning desire to do law.

There is however some indication of why BI is doing law

27 +4 I'm doing law for the purely practical reason of wanting a good job at the end.

There is also the indication of why BI is NOT going into law, for example she does not want to see changes in the law

11 -4 Ideally I hope to combine personal satisfaction from being a lawyer with an attempt to change it in some ways.

23 0 I'll continue with law even if I see a lot that's wrong with it because you're only able to something about it if you're knowledgeable about what goes on.

35 0 As a lawyer I want to make the law more accessible.

and there is similar unimportance attached to attempting changes for women

34 0 There are so few women in law particularly in the forefront of law that they should see it as a challenge.

This factor illustrates a belief in traditional roles for women

- 32 +4 I think it's natural that a lot of women are more interested in family law.
- 38 +4 I think it's inevitable that most women value settling down and having a family rather than having a career.

These traditional sex roles and the value attached to them seem to be accepted by BI and form part of her own identity, for example as regards the unimportance that she gives to her career

- 58 -5 My career is as important to me as it would be to a man.
- 28 -5 I see myself as a career woman.

BI does not see her identity as a woman in negative terms but instead there is the suggestion that she believes that "feminine characteristics" may not have a place in law. Comments from the interview illustrate her annoyance at feminist ideology

"I really got a bit fed up with all the ideas of what female lawyers can do to help women. It won't be easy to pick only female clients and surely the men in custody cases need just as much help as women and on going to a female lawyer would encounter the same problems as a woman going to a male lawyer."

Overall little importance is given to either gender or occupational identity in this factor.

- 61 0 My identity as a woman is more important to me than my identity as a lawyer.

By looking at the interview once again some explanation can be given to account for this. BI identifies strongly with being a Christian and this for her comes before everything else. Therefore the value and significance of other group memberships takes on second priority.

"The first thing that comes in my life is my work with god because I'm a christian and that has to come first, before anything, before career, before marriage and family, though I would imagine a family would come second."

Having taken this into consideration, this Q sort shows that BI gets certain personal satisfactions from having a job.

3 +3 Sometimes when I think of myself as a lawyer
I think of myself as more clever than
other people.

21 +3 I enjoy the respect others give you when you
say you're a lawyer.

So overall I8 shows little or no identification with either gender or occupational identity, and little importance to career. Some personal satisfaction from her job is indicated but basically the more important religious identity lies outside of this legal context.

Finally specific consideration will be given to statements sixty one which refers directly to gender identification to see where this statement has been placed in each factor sorting.

Statement sixty one refers directly to gender identity in relation to occupational identity.

61 My identity as a woman is more important to me
than my identity as a lawyer.

DIAGRAM 3:2 FACTOR PLACINGS OF STATEMENT SIXTY ONE

Factors							
I1	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	I8
+3	+1	+4	-2	0	-4	-2	0

As can be seen this statement which refers directly to the importance of gender identity in relation to occupational identity is placed in high positions of agreement by the women who define I3 followed by I1. Those women who disagree most strongly with the statement are the women who defined I6, followed by I4 and I7, while I5 and I8 place it in a position of ambivalence or irrelevance.

CONCLUSION

Eight factors have emerged from this Q sort analysis, by examining these sorts and drawing on the interviews and response sheets the various perspectives towards identity have been outlined. The diversity in the importance of doing law and of having a career varies from it being relatively unimportant as in I8, to it being of central importance as in I7. Similarly there are mixed perceptions of gender identity in the context of law. No attempt will be made to sketch out any hierarchical path between identities, each identity perspective has its own theory, whether it is one of collective action, career woman or religious intention. Clearly the study has not uncovered all perspectives as regards gender identity in a work context. It is also likely that the identity perspectives produced in this research using a social context of legal interaction between lawyer and client, ie public context, could be very different from the women's private identities.

An attempt will be made to summarise these factors focusing in particular on gender identity which is the main concern here and drawing

on previous suggestions as regards useful ways to conceptualise identity. As a starting point it is clear that I1 and I3 show strong identification with being women. These factors contrast strongly with other factors which disassociated with this group membership.

I1 illustrated a feminist perspective, this was the only factor where being a feminist and holding feminist principles formed an important part of identity. Other factors disagreed with this characterisation. Gender identity was salient and positively valued, the status quo was rejected and social change was advocated. This then, came closest to Tajfel and Turner's social change belief structure, and also to Condor's description of women with a radical perspective who adopt a strategy for change.

I2 was characterised as representing foremost an attempt to go into the law to make general changes. There was a rejection of the status quo within the legal structure and occupational identity was seen as more important than gender identity. There was disidentification with being a woman and instead the hope was to be seen as "just a lawyer". There was some ambiguity as to ways of viewing the differences between women and men doing law, and by referring to the response sheets a "different but equal" perspective seemed to be the best way of summarising the perspective here. The general approach seemed to be to make the most of these differences while not devaluing women's differential capabilities and interests relative to men's. In I3 gender was seen as important, as in I1, but here there was an acceptance of the status quo and consequently incompatibility expressed between the two identities in that traditional "feminine" characteristics were self applied and valued but seen as not being the characteristics essential to being a good lawyer. Occupational identity was less important and overall career was not prioritised. There

was some doubt as to whether TW would continue with law because of these incompatibilities between the two roles. This factor bore a close resemblance to Condor's description of a woman with traditional views and a strong gender identity.

There were certain similarities in I4 and I5 in that both emphasised the personal satisfactions derived from being a lawyer. In the case of I4 the extrinsic rewards of money and independence coming from having a good job were valued, enabling KN to do other things outside her work, while JA who defined I5 emphasised the rewards coming from being a professional for example the respect and intrinsic interest in doing law. Both factors derived satisfaction from general job satisfaction and mental stimulation. An individualistic approach could be seen in both these approaches in that both women were doing law for themselves first, rather than to change it for women (as in I1) or in terms of general accessibility (as in I2). One of the differences between the two factors was that I4 saw the importance of some changes although there was not the same emphasis as in I2 or I6, while I5 did not want to see change. Another difference between these two factors was that I5 emphasised strong disagreement with any negative evaluation of women.

I6 emphasised the need for general social change in order to eliminate class bias in the law. The importance of trying to change the role of a lawyer and the law to make it more accessible, doing this as group based strategy, and attempting to make it less elite and remove the financial barriers although there was uncertainty as to whether this was possible, or whether they had the drive to achieve this in personal terms. Professionalism was also clearly rejected. In this respect a general social change belief structure was identified. As regards gender, traditional views

of sex roles were accepted and AB and KL who defined this factor did not see themselves and didn't wish others to characterise them in this way. Instead they laid greater emphasis on their occupational identity.

The perspective towards identity seen in I7 was described as being closest to a "career woman" image which was one way that YC chose to characterise herself. Statements which referred to the satisfaction of having a career and being in a professional position formed part of this perspective on identity. Self confidence and determination to be a good lawyer and be seen as such were emphasised. YC wanted to be acknowledged as having "made it" as a woman lawyer in spite of the added difficulties for women in achieving in law, and hinting at a desire to be acknowledged as exceptional. At the same time YC did not identify with other women and agreed with statements that expressed doubt about women's capabilities.

Finally I8 was seen to have neither strong gender or occupational identity which was explained with reference to BI's identity as a christian being more important for her. Therefore her Q sort reflected uncertainty for women were emphasised along with the traditional priorities or values of career not playing an important part. At the same time there was not strong gender identification. Inconsistencies arose here concerning differences between women and men. While YC stated that she accepted the traditional sexual division of labour and that she thought women were more content in a domestic capacity she also supported the statement that there are not differences between women and men. This was explained by considering that YC believes that for most women it is "natural" for them to feel interested and content with family and home she considers that women who choose career will not differ in their treatment and behaviour towards

clients.

Following this examination of each factor the specific statement concerning gender identity was considered. To conclude, factors emerged which bore some relation to Tajfel and Turner's characterisation of a status quo and social change belief structure, but it was not possible to point to one single representation of a social mobility belief structure. This individualistic trend to gender identity appeared in several factors. It was also clear that representations of identity were varied and complex, in some cases inconsistencies arose which will be explored further in chapter seven.

CHAPTER FOUR

A Q SORT STUDY OF THE SPEECH STRATEGIES OF WOMEN LAWYERS

The first and second chapters of this thesis illustrated some of the different approaches that have been adopted by researchers to investigate the speech styles of women and men and what has been called "feminine" and "masculine" speech. Many of the differences believed to exist have been shown to be little other than myths. It is clear that there are many problems with this study. Those differences which have been shown to be relatively consistent have been explained to fit in with dominant ideology and embody the values of that ideology.

As regards speech characteristics, despite an abundance of research, most differences have been shown to be inconsistent and better understood as a reflection of the traditional majority/minority relations between women and men rather than "essential" gender characteristics. A problem here is that our perception is mediated by what we EXPECT to hear and so what might have initially seemed to be a description of "objective" measures of various speech has turned out to be closer to a description of researchers' presuppositions and value systems; how they expect people to speak and why they think this is. A further limitation is that there has been little consideration of the flexibility and complexity of speech, ie that speech characteristics can function differently and be characterised in various ways according to the context.

Social psychological research has shown that speech is intricately linked

with social identity, but it is not clear whether any consistent relationship exists when considering women and men as groups. This thesis has chosen to focus on the representations and evaluations of speech associated with gender rather than the speech itself. In order to begin to consider how speech can be used as a strategy to move towards general social change it is important to think about the varying underlying ideas about "femininity" and "masculinity" and the speech associated with these categories which, as shown in the stereotype section of chapter two, are distinctly characterised and widely held.

The "feminine" stereotype centres around sensitivity, emotionality, passivity and nurturance. The "masculine" around activity, control, creativity and objectivity. As ever the fixed polarities are set up. It seems no coincidence that the sexes are talked about in turns of "the opposite sex" or "the other sex". This chapter will begin by considering various speech strategies that have been formulated by women in order to try to change their social situation, before focusing on the more specific context of legal interaction. The value of this has been stated by Gisela Ecker;

"Although we know that "authentic" femininity cannot ever find full expression, we have to be sure of a vague utopia in the background, an idea of not only what we want to be liberated from, but what we want to be liberated to."

Gisela Ecker 1985

Many strategies are based on the socially constructed notion of dualities. It is possible to embrace a strategy where the "feminine" is emphasised, where communality, expressivity and spontaneous relations are seen as the only legitimate ones. Here gentleness, friendliness, sympathy are the corresponding speech characteristics around which a strategy is

based. In Giles' terms this could be seen as divergence, a maintenance or emphasis of ingroup stereotypical characteristics and valuing of these characteristics.

An example of this strategy can be seen in the conversation structure set up in consciousness raising groups. Interaction is based on sharing, speaking personally, emotionally, rejection of hierarchies and instead structuring a shared speaking time. As mentioned in the introduction, while some women would argue that this structure and form of communication is closer to women's "natural" or "essential" communication, others would argue that it is instead a political strategy which is consciously adopted and not one that comes "naturally" or even easily to most women. Instead when it is adopted it is a strategy that results in greater awareness of power structures in interaction and a move towards a more equal power base. In terms of its evaluation Ecker says

"The various forms of abstaining from competition, the gesture of undoing hierarchies do introduce change which should not be underestimated."

Gisela Ecker 1985

Chantal Akerman writes about women turning round the definition of women's gentle, sensitive approach and adopting this form of communication effectively in political rallies.

"If women imitate men's battles they will become weaker and weaker. They must find new forms of struggle. This became evident in Hendare where women demonstrated against the death penalty in Spain. Some women shouted, clenched their fists, while other just hummed. They went "mmmm" with their lips pressed together, and moved forward in a row. That is a new way of demonstrating which can be a hundred times stronger than fists. We have had a virtual inflation of shouting with fists and I for one, simply walk by when I hear it. In film and all the arts we must find a

language which is applicable to us."

Chantal Akerman 1976.

At a deeper level this strategy advocates a return to matriarchal structures, customs and beliefs. Gotter suggests that women should return to dance as a more adequate form of communication because it is a reflection of inner "women's speech". (Gotter 1985) Angela Carter has commented on this general strategy, certainly at this level as being ineffective and misguided. She says;

"If women allow themselves to be consoled for their culturally determined lack of access to the modes of intellectual debate by the invocation of hypothetical great goddesses, they are simply flattering themselves into submission (a technique often used on them by men.) All the versions of women from the myth of the redeeming purity of the virgin to that of the healing, reconciling mother seems to be a fair definition of myth, anyway. ... "In this most insulting myth ie redefinition of myself, that of occult priestess, I am indeed allowed to speak but only of things that male society does not take seriously. I can hint at dreams, I can even personify the imagination; but that is only because I am not rational enough to cope with reality."

Angela Carter 1979

Another underlying perspective as regards gender, and which Angela Carter seems likely to subscribe to is one that sees human beings as rational, productive and individualistic. In this society these "instrumental" characteristics are the valued ones, and these are the characteristics currently associated with traditional ideas of "masculinity". The proposed speech strategy for a woman holding this perspective would be convergence, ie moving towards this speech style. This convergent strategy involves moving away from "expressivity" (see above) as the two are generally seen as being incompatible. Consequently, for a woman

adopting this strategy this would mean disassociation from traditional concepts and ideals of "femininity". In terms of speech characteristics this means placing highest value on assertion, rationality, control and thus a move towards what has also been called a "powerful" speech form.

Assertiveness training can be seen as a strategy embodying this underlying perspective. In assertiveness training groups women learn or practice coping with various situations by "standing up for themselves". It is thought that the confidence and strength gained will result in women's greater participation in many forms of interaction. This strategy can be seen as the one which corresponds closely to early suggestions by researchers that women need to model their speech on male speech patterns in order to fix their place in the male world (Lakoff 1975). It would seem that in some of the previous research in this area (described in chapter two), this was one strategy adopted by "feminist" groups.

A third perspective towards gender can be called "synthesis of styles or in behavioural terms "androgyny" (Bem 1974). Here a division of self into roles or "dimensions" is seen as dehumanising, the division into "masculine" and "feminine" is seen as destructive and needing to be dissolved so that a combination of "the two opposites" can be attempted. In terms of speech, characteristics from both the "expressive" and the "instrumental" dimension are valued. There is also rejection of certain aspects of both "masculine" and "feminine" speech characteristics for example of the pettiness and ingratiation placed on the definition of "femininity" and of the dominating and insensitivity placed on the definition of "masculinity". This strategy can be seen in research that I previously carried out concerning the speech stereotypes held by school pupils and feminists. The feminists advocated a combination of styles as described above as being closest to their "ideal"

speech style.

There is also a perspective which argues that while there are polarities, these are not associated with "femininity" and "masculinity", that a strategy must be adopted which redefines gender outside of these traditional categories, moving away from these conceptualisations. It is not easy to see what this means in practical terms, possibly a redefinition of women and men in non-conventional terms, focusing on alternative aspects of "human nature".

While some individuals may identify strongly with one of these four basic "orientations", all four can make up the available alternatives open to any one individual at any one time. Similarly when considering speech strategies, these can be selected between as to their appropriateness in that situation and change during the course of that interaction.

METHOD

This chapter will use Q sort methodology, as outlined in the previous chapter, to investigate the speech strategies outlined by lawyers. Exactly the same group of lawyers participated in this study as in the previous one in order that the results from both studies could be examined together to see whether there is any consistent relation between gender identity and speech.

PROCEDURE

In this study sixty one statements formed the Q sort set, these had been selected from the interviews. Once again there was a formal structuring of statements so that an equal number of statements characterised "feminine" characteristics in a positive and negative way, for

example "Dealing with a client involves being first of sympathetic" and "You must never let your personal views come through as a lawyer". (See Appendix VI for a full set of speech statements). There was a similar equal selection of both positive and negative comments about "masculine" and "neutral" speech characteristics. When sorting the statements, participants were asked to focus on the context of themselves interacting with a client. Specifically, as the majority of the group had previously expressed their choice of doing solicitors' work over other sorts of legal work, the specific interaction used here was that of a solicitor, with a client, in an office situation.

RESULTS

This speech Q sort was factor analysed using varimax rotation (principal components) in exactly the same way as described for the previous study. The results showed that seven independent sortings emerged from the original forty sets of rankings (see Appendix VII). The interpretation of the seven factors is given in the discussion, these account for 100% of the variance. Factors three and seven were defined by one women only and so the interpretation for these factors is based on the raw Q sort rankings. (See Appendix VIII for weighted Q sort factors)

DISCUSSION

FACTOR ONE "Counselling" speech

This factor places most emphasis on statements which refer to the importance of considering the client and being sympathetic, patient and concerned. These characteristics can be summarised as centring around a "concerned" dimension, those statements which invalidate the importance of

"caring" are disagreed with. Disagreement is also shown towards statements concerned with establishing a distance between lawyer and client, and of the lawyer taking too tight a control over the interaction. While there is a strong tendency to support "feminine" characteristics which is stated, certain "masculine" speech characteristics are also valued, once again the statement referring to speech in these stereotypical terms is agreed with.

The overall interaction is seen as being a "counselling" environment in this factor

33 +5 I see the interaction of a lawyer with his
or her client as being like counselling
someone, only its more formal.

Characteristics which emphasise the relationship between lawyer and client are placed in strongly agree positions

CC comments in her interview

"The same things are important as in a counselling situation. Being helpful like not asking anything too forward or if its too difficult or too personal to answer and appearing sympathetic, not hurrying them, helping with difficult things to say. Not being judgemental. Having time to listen and giving them time to speak is important."

1 +5 Dealing with a client involves being first
of all sympathetic.

49 +4 It is important to emphasise the supportive
side of being a lawyer.

In terms of "feminine" and "masculine" characteristics there is positive evaluation given to statements which refer to sympathy, concern and support - those characteristics that usually form the "feminine" stereotype,

and this is explicitly stated

- 13 +2 There is a need for "feminine" characteristics to be emphasised in law.

The women who defined this factor are the only ones who agree with this statement. Similarly statements which devalue this "caring" dimension are placed in positions of disagreement

- 11 -5 You must never let your personal views come through as a lawyer.
- 53 -3 You shouldn't be too gentle when interacting with a client.

However the focus is not totally on "feminine" characteristics

- 9 +3 Its important to combine "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics in law.

Once again the women who define this factor are the only ones who specifically agree with this statement. Women who define other factors either do not characterise the interaction in these terms or else are uncertain as to what is meant by these statements.

Some statements that refer to specific characteristics of controlling the interaction or dominating it are clearly rejected here

- 14 +3 It's important not to be dominating as a lawyer.
- 26 +4 You should make a point of NOT interrupting a client.

- 22 -2 You must be very shrewd to be a lawyer.
- 32 0 You shouldn't speak forcefully as a lawyer.

Statements which are not seen as either important or unimportant are those which refer to ways in which the client's problem is actually tackled, or the ways in which the lawyer expresses herself

- 48 0 To succeed in law you have to be analytical.
- 60 0 A lawyer must be straight to the point.
- 10 +1 As a lawyer you must be able to express yourself well.

There is also slight agreement with the statements which express dissatisfaction with the current state of law and suggest that it is important to "demystify" the law in practical terms by speaking directly, clearly and possibly personally to the client who comes for help

CC comments

" It's important to demystify it (the legal process), making it seem straightforward and not lapsing into Latin phrases and producing remedies around it and advising."

- 51 +1 I think a lot of lawyers are guilty of complicating things so that clients come out feeling more baffled than when they went in.

In terms of the speech stereotypes there is an emphasis on introducing or re-emphasising many "feminine" characteristics of concern with the

relationship between lawyer and client. Certain "masculine" characteristics are rejected but there is agreement that in this situation a combination is most effective.

FACTOR TWO "STRAIGHT FORWARD SPEECH"

The main emphasis in this factor is on making the interaction as clear, straightforward and manageable as possible for the client. Thus the focus on the client is similar to factor one. Yet here there is reservation expressed as to becoming too involved in the situation and therefore some elements of keeping a certain distance and control over the course of the conversation is seen as important.

Statements concerning communicating clearly and simply and making sure that the client understands what is going on are emphasised in this factor

45 +5 I think its important to encourage clients
and check that they understand.

MN adds the following comment in her interview

"You have to present a clear picture to the client in not too pedantic terms, of the situation from their point of view."

It is also seen as important not to hurry or put down the client in any way

55 +4 A lawyer should be patient.

14 +5 Its important NOT to be dominating as a lawyer

2 +2 I certainly wouldn't expect a lawyer to assume

that they immediately knew best and delivered a monologue to the client.

But here there is some inconsistency as regards the level of control that should be taken by the lawyer

26 -5 You should make a point of NOT interrupting a client.

This would seem to suggest that it is necessary for the lawyer to maintain a certain level of control. As in factor one, concern for the client is seen as being important

37 +4 As a lawyer you should show concern for your client.

However there are differences in terms of the level of involvement with a client, S2, "Straight forward speech", considers that there should be more distance

5 0 (-4) A good lawyer must never use emotional speech.

11 0 (-5) You must never let your personal views come through as a lawyer.

MN again comments about her placing of this statement

"You have to be able, although it's not a desirable thing, to detach yourself from the situation....Theres a danger of becoming too emotionally involved in that you'd lose your professional integrity. I would like to feel I wasn't completely hard and cold. I begin to wonder if I've started not to feel anything in a particularly upsetting situation."

There is also a difference between the two factors in terms of politeness, a characteristic seen as important by women who define S2 "Straightforward speech", but not S1 "Counselling speech".

19 +4 (0) It's important to be polite as a lawyer.

However, while there is some agreement with factor one as to the importance of these characteristics centred around providing a manageable situation for the client, overall the interaction is not characterised in the same way

33 -3 (+5) I see the interaction of a lawyer with counselling someone only it's a bit more formal.

Overall the interaction is not seen as requiring any particular change from general interaction patterns

15 +2 Changing speech styles to one appropriate to law is no more difficult than a normal change in speech from situation to situation.

FACTOR THREE "LOGICAL SPEECH"

Characteristics seen as most important here are those referring to ways of dealing with information, ie ways of organising and presenting it, specifically in an objective, logical and decisive way. Confidence is given the next priority in the interaction followed by the speech characteristics of showing care and concern for the client. Speech that is not seen as important or relevant is of being "wellspoken". The woman who defines this factor shows strongest disagreement to characterising speech in terms

of "feminine" and "masculine" strategies, out of all the factors.

The statements that are placed in the strongly agree positions refer to ways of thinking about the actual problem posed by the client and ways of putting across the necessary information for dealing with the problem

- 30 +5 It's very important to look at things
objectively in law.
- 18 +5 You must first of all be logical to be a
lawyer.
- 16 +5 As a lawyer you must be decisive.

KN refers to her focus on expression, in her interview

"As a lawyer you're continually giving advice to people and therefore you need to have the ability to express yourself orally very well. I think a characteristic like expression, external expression comes from thinking clearly internally and I think the first one is consequent on the second."

The next priority in this Q sort is given to statements which refer to the importance of being a confident speaker

- 17 +3 You won't make a good lawyer if you can't be
assertive.
- 47 +3 If you're not a confident speaker you won't
make a good lawyer.
- 41 +3 You won't make a good lawyer unless you can
maintain control.

Yet not all aspects of control are valued. Statement fifty two which refers to the more public aspect of interaction where the implication of needing to hold an audience's attention is not seen as necessary

52 -2 A good lawyer is one who can hold the floor.

Statements about showing concern for the client are placed in positions of agreement and seem to indicate the need not to be too confident and overpowering when dealing with clients

37 +2 As a lawyer you should show concern for your client.

1 +2 Dealing with a client involves being first of all sympathetic.

20 +1 The place for showing assertion is with other lawyers, not with clients.

25 +1 It is very important to listen carefully and give the client time to speak.

Statements which are not seen as particularly relevant are those which concern speaking voice

7 0 In law it's important to use your language properly and have good grammar.

61 0 A lawyer should be well spoken.

KN comments about these characteristics in her interview

"I think there is still, very much in Britain and in most spheres of professional life where your speech, and being "well spoken" tends to, fairly or unfairly, be a factor that people take into consideration when they judge you and therefore if you talk in a broad country accent people are going to think you're pig headed and unemployed. Whereas someone with a nice Oxford accent is seen as acceptable and therefore people are more willing to employ you. Whether I agree with that is another matter, I don't, but it is the state of affairs at the moment."

Strongest disagreement, even stronger than that seen in S6 "Presentation", is levelled at the statements which talk about the different speech styles in terms of the "feminine" and "masculine" stereotypes.

- 54 -5 To be a good lawyer a woman must adopt
 "masculine" speech or she won't get
 anywhere.
- 13 -5 There is a need for "feminine" speech
 characteristics to be emphasised in law.
- 9 -5 It's important to combine "masculine" and
 "feminine" speech in law.

A positive emphasis of decision, logic and confidence is advocated in this factor. The most clear disagreement is with characterisations of interaction in either "feminine" or "masculine" terms. The evaluations of the importance of being "wellspoken" and having "good grammar" are rejected and seen as irrelevant.

FACTOR FOUR "ACCESSIBLE AND ENCOURAGING SPEECH"

The women who define this factor value characteristics that come from a combination of dimensions. The main emphasis seems to centre around the belief that lawyers too often complicate rather than enlighten the client and that this should not be the case. Therefore importance is placed on drawing out the client, giving them confidence and presenting their options open to them in a clear and straightforward way. Other characteristics that are placed in salient positions relate to this general emphasis of not intimidating the client. Being articulate is seen to be relatively unimportant, similarly being a good speaker and having public speaking skills is not valued here.

The statements given most importance are those referring to drawing out the client and making sure that the client knows what is going on

- 45 +5 I think it's important to encourage clients to ask questions and check that they understand.
- 34 +5 An important part of being a lawyer is getting information out of people, finding out exactly what they mean and what they want.

Speaking clearly is seen as part of this process

- 4 +5 You must choose your words carefully as a lawyer.
- 7 +2 In law it's important to use your language properly and have good grammar.

FR explains this general perspective in more detail in her interview

"Be able to ask simple direct questions. Getting information out of people is difficult, trying to find out exactly what they mean, exactly what they want. I suppose you see from children how difficult it is for people to tell you exactly what they mean and what they think. I think being encouraging is very important to give them a little bit more confidence, because I'm sure people going to a solicitor feel agitated, unless they're used to being with a solicitor and it's likely to be a situation where they're tense anyway - from the very fact that they're undergoing some problem."

While there are some similarities with S2 "Straightforward speech" in the emphasis placed on making things straightforward for the client, there is more emphasis placed on speaking clearly, approaching the situation in a logical way in this factor (S2's placing of the statements are in brackets)

- 18 +3 (0) You must first of all be logical to be a lawyer.

There is also a difference in the placing of statement fifty one between S2 "Straightforward speech" and S4 "Accessible and Encouraging". The women who defined S2 agreed with the statement most strongly out of all the factors

- 51 +2 (-3) I think that a lot of lawyers are guilty of complicating things so that clients come out feeling more baffled than when they went in.

Being articulate and a good speaker are not seen as important here

- 8 +4 I think you have to be articulate in some situations in the capacity of a lawyer but its not ALL that you need.
- 39 +4 Cases should be won according to what is being said rather than how it is being said.
- 50 +3 There's too much emphasis on public speaking skills - other forms of speech are equally important.
- 52 -5 A good lawyer is one who can "hold the floor"

Similarly it is seen as important not to be overwhelming or over confident

- 20 -3 The place for showing assertion is with other lawyers, not with clients.
- 2 +3 I certainly wouldn't expect a lawyer to assume that they knew best and delivered a monologue to the client.

The other main difference between this factor and S2 is that the lawyers who define this factor do not see it as so important to emphasise the stereotypical "caring" and "concerned" characteristics. Again S2's placings are given in brackets

- 1 -2 (+2) Dealing with a client involves being first of all sympathetic.
- 37 -1 (+4) As a lawyer you should show concern for your client.
- 55 -1 (+4) A lawyer should be patient.

In terms of the statements which expressly characterise speech in sex stereotypical terms there is uncertainty as to what these statements mean which both BP and FR question on their response sheets.

"I wasn't sure what was meant by statements fifty four, nine and thirteen and so placed them close to the "uncertain" pile."

- 54 -1 To be a good lawyer a woman must adopt "masculine" characteristics or she won't get anywhere.
- 9 -1 It's important to combine "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics in law.
- 13 -2 There is a need for "feminine" speech characteristics to be emphasised in law.

FACTOR FIVE "GOOD SPEAKER"

The emphasis in this factor is on ways of putting across information expressing oneself well, being "well spoken" and having the ability to be witty. Much of this factor is defined in terms of how a lawyer should NOT speak, ie it is seen as being important not to be argumentative being

assertive is not valued here unlike in S7 "A Business Transaction" and "supportive" elements are not seen as important as in S1 "A Counselling Interaction".

- 10 +4 As a lawyer you must be able to express yourself well
- 3 +4 A good lawyer must be able to argue a case with sarcasm and wit.
- 61 +3 A lawyer should be well spoken.
- 35 +3 You shouldn't use too much detail when interacting as a lawyer.

The statements which BI (who defines this factor), agrees with most strongly, are those which she considers SHOULDN'T be used

- 38 +5 A good lawyer shouldn't be argumentative
- 8 +5 I think you need to be articulate in some situations in the capacity of a lawyer, but its not all that is needed.

BI explains her placing of this last statement on her response sheet

"I don't think it's much of a question of being articulate because if the person you're dealing with is not articulate, it's like putting up a barrier."

While BI considers that it is important to organise information analytically

- 48 +5 To succeed in law you must be analytical

there are contradictions here as BI disagrees with statement eighteen

- 18 -5 You must first of all be logical to be a lawyer

The placing of these statements at the two extremes is difficult to explain and seems to reflect inconsistency as the statements seem to reflect similar qualities.

Assertion and confidence are not seen essential in this factor and in this respect this factor, S5 differs from S6 "Presentation"

- 16 -3 You have to be determined in the way you interact as a lawyer.
- 17 -3 You won't make a lawyer if you can't be assertive.
- 47 -2 If you're not confident you won't make a good lawyer.

and the supportive, caring aspects of the interaction which were seen as most important in S1, are not valued here

- 49 -3 It is important to emphasise the supportive side of being a lawyer.

Overall the speech characteristics that are seen as most important in this factor are being "well spoken", "expressing oneself well" and being able to be "sarcastic and witty". In terms of the strategies outlined in the introduction this factor emphasises the "neutral" characteristics.

FACTOR SIX "PRESENTATION"

The emphasis in this factor is on being a good speaker and being "well spoken". The public aspects of the interaction are focused on to a greater

extent than in other factors and characteristics associated with this element of "presentation" eg being humorous, witty and "holding the floor" are valued. Confidence and assertion and being in control of the interaction are seen as being important and there is the indication that in some situations it might be necessary to be manipulative. LC who defines this factor does not see this speech style as coming easily to her and sees it as part of the role that she will have to adopt as a lawyer.

There is emphasis in this factor on being articulate and a "good speaker"

- 7 +5 In law it's important to use your language properly and have good grammar.
- 61 +4 A lawyer should be well spoken.
- 5 +3 You must use your words carefully as a lawyer.

Confidence and assertion are also seen as necessary

- 17 +1 You won't make a good lawyer unless you can be assertive.
- 47 +4 If you're not a confident speaker you won't make a good lawyer.

Characteristics which go along with the "public speaking" image are also given strong positive placings and the more public aspects of the interaction are focused on

- 3 +3 A lawyer must be able to argue a case with sarcasm and wit.
- 8 -1 I think you have to be articulate in some situations in the capacity as a lawyer, but its not all that is needed.

57 +3 A lawyer should be humorous.

At the same time some aspects of this more "public" form of speaking are rejected

40 -5 Sometimes a lawyer needs to be dramatic and flamboyant.

There is also the element of needing to maintain control of the course of the interaction

52 +3 A good lawyer is one who can "hold the floor"

22 +4 You must be very shrewd to be a lawyer.

46 +1 If I want to be successful I'll have to learn to twist words and manipulate the situation.

As in S7, "A Business Transaction" the indication is given that to interact in this way means taking on a specific speech style for this situation which does not necessarily come easily

15 -4 Changing speech styles to one appropriate to law is no more difficult than a normal change in speech from situation to situation.

JA comments on her general approach to interacting with clients and shows that she feels that she is adopting a specific speech style which she describes in the following way

"As a solicitor you'd be more on a business level and you couldn't just chat away, you'd have to really think and even then put on an act, a posher voice, and try sound

intellectual. I think it's perhaps a role you have to adopt."

Finally this factor rejects being completely distanced and impersonal

- 53 -5 You shouldn't be too gentle in interacting
 with a client.
- 11 -4 You must never let your personal views come
 through as a lawyer.

But clearly the statements concerning accessibility are not seen as the most important aspects of the interaction as in factors one and two. Presentation of self in a public capacity is emphasised in this factor. Eloquence and confidence as well as "holding the floor" are highly valued. This is said to involve the adoption of a specific and not altogether familiar speech style.

FACTOR SEVEN A "BUSINESS TRANSACTION"

The attitude to speech in this factor illustrates the belief that lawyer/client interaction is like a business transaction and that a woman acting in the capacity as a lawyer must adopt "masculine" speech characteristics to deal effectively with the situation. There is a consistent pattern in the placing of the statements in this factor those concerned with being "competitive, determined and assertive" are highly valued, ie the stereotypical "masculine" characteristics, while those referring to speech which is more "personal, informal, or caring" are rejected. There is also an indication that the women who define this factor consider that in some respects this will mean that they have to take on or learn to use this speech style. The overall linguistic strategy and approach to lawyer/client

interaction shown here is summed up in the placing of statement twenty seven

- 27 +5 I think of dealing with a client as being like a business transaction.

This can be compared to the opposite placing of statement thirty three

- 33 -5 I see the interaction of a lawyer with his or her client as being like counselling someone, only it's more formal.

The emphasis here is on characteristics considered compatible with a business transaction

- 6 +4 You have to be competitive when interacting as a lawyer.
- 17 +5 You won't make a good lawyer if you can't be assertive.

In this respect it is almost completely "masculine" stereotypical characteristics that are seen as being important here and this is clearly stated

- 54 +4 To be a good lawyer a woman must adopt "masculine" characteristics or she won't get anywhere.

This attitude can be seen in other characteristics that are agreed with

- 30 +3 It's very important to look at things objectively in law.

- 35 +2 You shouldn't use too much detail when interacting as a lawyer.

There is some indication that interacting in the way proposed as being "the only way" does not come easily

- 21 +1 Interacting as a lawyer is like learning a new way of speaking.
- 15 -2 Changing speech styles to one appropriate in law is no more difficult than a normal change in speech from situation to situation.

Alongwith this emphasis on the need to adopt a specific speech style for law which can be summarised as being "formal, direct and business like" is the rejection of the need to use a speech style which shows support or concern, ie the characteristics emphasised in factor one

- 49 -5 It is important to emphasise the supportive side of being a lawyer.
- 37 -1 As a lawyer you should show concern for your client.
- 45 -1 I think it's important to encourage clients to ask questions and check that they understand.

Similarly HL and GK who define this factor see it as important to distance themselves in some senses from their role as lawyers

- 23 +3 You have to protect yourself by not being too open.
- 58 -5 Sometimes it is necessary to admit that you are uncertain about something to a client.

In this sense the importance of maintaining clear cut roles as lawyer/client in the interaction are emphasised

Generally statements referring to forms of expression and being wellspoken which were highly valued in S3 "Logical speech", are seen as being unimportant or disagreed with here

- 60 -1 A lawyer must be straight to the point.
- 10 -3 As a lawyer you must be able to express yourself well.
- 7 -3 In law it's important to use your language properly and have good grammar.

The factor is summarised by TW in her interview as being

"Efficient, business like and matter of fact to the client and dealing with their problems as quickly and as efficiently as possible."

CONCLUSION

Seven distinct factors emerged from the analysis of the speech Q sorts. The women who defined S1 clearly emphasised the use of what were earlier described as "expressive" speech characteristics, these were seen as the most important element of the interaction. This can also be seen in terms of being a positive evaluation of "feminine" characteristics and a rejection of statements which made negative comments concerning this "caring/ supportive" dimension. The lawyers characterised the interaction as being like a "counselling" situation and were the only women to see the interaction in "feminine/masculine" terms. There was agreement to the statement referring to the importance of reemphasising the "feminine" in

law as well as agreement to the strategy of combining the use of both "feminine and "masculine" speech characteristics in law.

Women who defined S2 also focused on concern for the client and saw the most important element in the interaction being the client's comprehension of their options, thus the importance of speaking clearly and simply and being reassuring, drawing out the client's confidence was emphasised. Here, though, it was seen as important to keep a certain distance between the client and the lawyer.

Lawyers who defined S3 appeared to cluster speech characteristics into specific dimensions and then systematically place them in columns ranging from agreement through to disagreement. The most important of these dimensions was a "thinking, ways of organising information" dimension, ie value was placed on being rational, logical and analytical. These characteristics were followed by ones which referred to clear, straightforward expression. The expressive dimension came after this. There was rejection of characteristics such as being "well spoken", and having "good grammar" which were associated with class/accnt evaluations. In this respect there was an overall emphasis of the importance of "instrumental" elements of speech style, although this was not to the same extent as seen in S7. Similarly there was some degree of rejection of certain "feminine" characteristics, which were not seen as compatible with the "instrumental" elements. All three statements which referred to speech style in gender based terms were strongly rejected.

The speech style that was put across as being most appropriate in S4 centred around characteristics that make the situation straightforward for the client, encouraging them to ask questions, and at the same time the

importance of the lawyer using words carefully and having "good grammar" was emphasised. These characteristics mainly come from the "undifferentiated" category. There was neither strong emphasis on either the expressive or the instrumental dimensions shown in this factor and similarly there was rejection of certain characteristics from both these dimensions. There was uncertainty as to what "feminine" and "masculine" elements referred to, and the speech strategy put forward here was not conceptualised in these gender terms. These statements were placed close to the centre on the Q sort.

The priority shown by women who defined S4 was for uncomplicated and straightforward interaction taking care not to be over-assertive in any way. In this respect consideration for the client and difficulties they might be experiencing were seen as the most important aspect of the interaction.

The speech style put forward in S5 was essentially expressed in negative terms, ie how a lawyer should NOT interact. It was seen as important for the lawyer not to be argumentative, nor determined, assertive or confident, and it was not seen as essential to be articulate. In this respect there was clear rejection of many "masculine" characteristics and similarly many "feminine" characteristics were not seen as important, for example, being supportive. So overall this was not an easy factor to interpret. There were also inconsistencies, for example it was seen as important to be analytical, but not logical. Nor was it easy to characterise the factor in terms of the general strategies suggested in the introduction.

There was an emphasis on the more public aspects of the lawyer/ client interaction shown by the women who defined S6 ie being sarcastic and witty, humorous, holding the floor and at the same time being confident

and assertive. The characteristics that were valued fell mainly into the "undifferentiated" category, possibly with more leaning towards the "masculine" elements, although this was not stated. There was indication given here that this speech style was one to be "taken on with the role", ie something to be adapted to, rather than a speech style that could be modified or changed.

S7 characterised the lawyer/client interaction as being like a business transaction. The characteristics that were valued here centred around competition, determination, and retaining a certain distance with the client. In this respect it was almost entirely a "masculine" stereotypical speech style that was admired and this was stated. At the same time "feminine" characteristics were not seen as particularly relevant and those referring to a more informal, personal interaction were rejected. Here then is the clearest example of a convergent/assimilationist approach. The strategy being put forward is to adopt a "legal" speech style which is equated with the "masculine".

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RELATION BETWEEN GENDER IDENTITY AND SPEECH

The last two chapters using Q methodology have separated out different perspectives concerning the lawyers ideas about identity and speech. This chapter will now attempt to relate these two areas and answer the question posed at the beginning of this thesis, namely, is there a consistent relation between belief structure and linguistic strategy when considering women and men as groups.

The identity Q sort separated out eight factors. In some cases the differences between the factors was subtle and required recourse to the interviews, comments on the response sheets and in some cases follow up interviews in order to attribute meaning to each factor.

When describing the emerging patterns, the specific belief structures outlined by Tajfel and Turner will be examined and analysed in relation to speech. Consideration will be given as to whether identity and linguistic strategies correspond and if so, whether this is in the way that Giles suggested.

As regards the Q sorts, as a preliminary point it should be noted that Sue Condor's suggestion that holding a "status quo" belief structure does not necessarily imply a "weak" gender identification (see chapter three) was clearly relevant here, resulting in consideration of two "status quo" belief structures.

18, the "Christian" perspective, can be seen to relate closely to the

general conception of a "status quo" belief structure as regards gender identity. The perspective in this factor is clearly a traditional view of the relations between women and men which is incorporated into the context of work as a lawyer. There is not strong gender identification, BI who defines this factor does not choose to be seen as a woman doing law, but "just as a lawyer". Women are seen as being different from men and less suited to being lawyers. It is also considered natural for women to value marriage and family more than a career which therefore makes them less good employees and consequently it is seen as reasonable that men should employ men before women. There is the overall emphasis that this situation cannot be changed, in Tajfel and Turner's words, that there are "No cognitive alternatives".

BI was also one of the women who defined S5, "Good Speaker". This factor was described as emphasising the way that information is presented as being particularly important in the interaction between lawyer and client. Elements such as being "well-spoken and having clear expression" were highly valued. In terms of "feminine" and "masculine" characteristics these tended to be "neutral" statements, there was neither an indication that "feminine" or "masculine" characteristics were important and the overall interaction was not characterised in terms of these stereotypical traits. It might have been expected to find a rejection of "feminine" characteristics given that there was a general deevaluation of these characteristics seen in the identity Q sorts. On the other hand there was also no emphasis placed on having to adopt "masculine" speech characteristics instead.

At this point it should be pointed out that Sue Condor's criticism of the assumption made by intergroup theory that women with a traditional view of gender group would not identify strongly with this group as it would

result in a negative social identity, is clearly relevant here. She writes

"An inability to perceive women as an economic interest group need not preclude the possibility of perceiving women to constitute a group on the basis of some other shared characteristic, for example, as an homogeneous biological category."

This is what is found in the Q sort identity factors. I3, a "Traditional" perspective, was seen to illustrate a perspective which held that there were differences between women and men as lawyers in terms of behavioural characteristics and essentially traditional values was held as regards the sexual division of labour on the basis of these differential characteristics. At the same time there was strong and positive identification with women as a group. This is clearly seen in diagram 3:2 which illustrates each factors' placing of statement sixty one "My identity as a woman is more important to me than my identity as a lawyer". I3, the "Traditional" factor places this in the strongest position of agreement out of all the factors, including I1, the "Feminist" factor.

The women who define this factor can be said to hold a traditional or status quo perspective as to gender roles, and at the same time strong gender identification. As to the relation with Q sort factors, it can be seen that TW who is one of the women who defines I3 is also one of the women who defines S1 the "counselling factor" of the speech Q sorts.

This factor was described as putting a strong emphasis on the "caring" elements of the interaction which was characterised overall as being "like a counselling situation". There was also a strong rejection of any dominating or controlling aspects of speech. In this respect there was a clear emphasis of "feminine" characteristics which was explicitly stated. At the

same time the statement which emphasised the importance of combining "feminine" and "masculine" aspects of speech was agreed with. In this respect there was overall agreement shown to characterising the speech interaction in these gender specific terms. This is different from the other "status quo" perspective previously outlined. The strategy that is being advocated here in this context is one of re-emphasising the "feminine" characteristics and seeing their adoption along with certain "masculine" characteristics as being the most effective speech strategy available for this specific interaction.

To move onto a social mobility belief structure, in terms of the identity factors, both I5, the "Professional" factor and I7 the "Career Woman" factor seem to correspond closely to a social mobility perspective as regards gender identity. Therefore both these factors and their corresponding speech perspectives will be described here. I5 places high value on career and sees the main personal satisfactions being fulfilled by having a good job, being in a professional position. Occupational identity is seen as being more important than gender identity and there is general disidentification with being a woman. However there was a rejection of statements that devalued women's abilities and similarly of comments that discrimination against women can't be changed.

Similarly I7 placed a strong emphasis on the importance of career and characterises self as a career woman. Here as in I5 there is disidentification with gender group and the belief that women in general might not make as good lawyers as men. Instead YE saw herself as different and wanting to be acknowledged as a woman who has "made it" in spite of the barriers she has had to overcome as a woman. The belief is also expressed that change will be achieved by women "taking the

challenge" and getting to the top of the legal profession, showing that they are as competent as men.

As regards the relation of these factors to the speech factors, LC who defines I5 also defines S6 "presentation". This speech perspective valued such characteristics as being "well spoken, presenting the information in a confident way, and maintaining control over the course of the interaction. There was also the indication that interacting in this way would mean having to work at this specific speech style as it was not one which was familiar. So there was the indication that this involved taking on an already established speech style appropriate for the role of a lawyer instead of modifying or introducing certain more "usual" forms of interaction into the situation. In this sense there is some idea of accommodation being seen as appropriate here, learning to be assertive, articulate and keeping control. This is not wholly in the sense of convergence towards a "masculine" set of speech characteristics. Yet while certain "feminine" characteristics such as treating the client "gently" and becoming involved in the interaction are not rejected there is no attempt to emphasise their importance. The woman who defined I7, also described as a social mobility belief structure did not define any one of the speech strategies that emerged from the factor analysis, there was no clear cut correspondence with speech style.

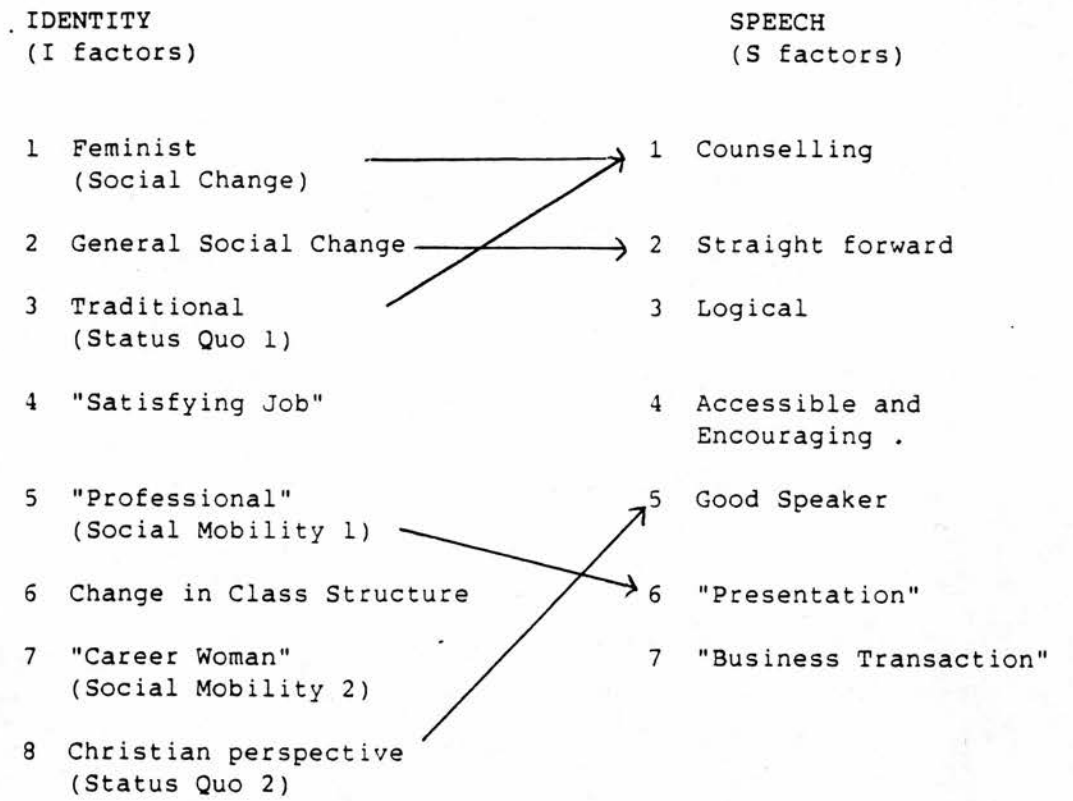
In terms of a "social change" belief structure, it was found that women who defined the "feminist" factor, I1 also defined the "counselling" factor S1. As described above, S1 emphasised "feminine" speech characteristics. What is more interesting is that it is the same speech style that was characterised by women with traditional views, as being the most satisfactory speech style to adopt in the context of interaction with a client. Clearly, both groups of women who identify strongly with gender group yet

who differ as regards their perspective on relations between the sexes, consider it most important to interact in a caring, personal manner with clients in this context. Strong gender identification is paired with emphasis of "feminine" traits combined with certain "masculine" traits. This would constitute what was named a "synthesis" approach in terms of speech strategy.

As for I2, 4 and 6, named "General Social Change", "Satisfying Job" and "Change in Class Structure", there was no one corresponding speech strategy outlined for I4 and I6. Instead the factor loadings were divided between two or more of the speech factors. However the women who defined I2 also defined S2, "straight forward speech". To return to the question of whether there is a relation between identity and speech, the answer is yes, in the sense the four main perspectives outlined each correspond to specific speech strategies in this particular context. However the strategies cannot be said to correspond to the predictions of convergence and divergence made by Giles. It is also clear that the picture is complicated as regards identity perspectives. There were ten factors resulting from the factor analysis; a far more complex picture than would be expected from Tajfel and Turner's taxonomy. The value of allowing participants to construct their own self descriptions is obvious. If, instead, an approach had been adopted where the researcher drew up the perspectives herself, beforehand, I2, 4 and 6 may well have been ignored, as they would not have been taken into consideration and included in the study. The next question which must be answered concerns the consistency of the accounts. In some cases it seemed that the Q sort factors revealed inconsistency within the factor. The next stage is to examine the interviews in more detail and consider the extent of the

variability within the accounts.

DIAGRAM 5:1 THE RELATION BETWEEN I AND S FACTORS



CHAPTER SIX

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

Chapters three and four have described two studies which investigated the identity and speech perspectives of a group of women lawyers. Chapter five concluded that although some relationship was found between some of the identity factors and speech factors, there appeared to be inconsistency in some of the resulting factors. It was also the case that statements chosen to form the identity Q sort set were based on Tajfel and Turner's categorisations of social identity and the speech statements were selected on the basis of the "feminine" and "masculine" stereotypes. Consequently a great deal of additional information about identity and interaction in the interviews has not been examined so far. In order to investigate the inconsistency in the accounts and examine representations of identity and speech in greater detail, attention will now be given to analysing the original interview material.

First, the aim is to outline a recently developed methodology which will be used in chapter seven to examine the accounts of lawyers regarding aspects of occupational and gender identity and speech. As was seen and made clear by the Q sort studies in the previous chapters while Giles' approach to social identity and speech has opened up this area of study, there are several problems with this approach, both theoretical and methodological.

To summarise the problems with this model when it is applied to women

and men:-

1)The concepts of convergence and divergence cannot be easily applied here. It appears that divergence is not predicted by ingroup distinctiveness, ie a woman who clearly sees the situation in intergroup terms and who intends to adopt a social change strategy does not necessarily adopt a divergent strategy, ie emphasise her ingroup distinctiveness as a response to that situation.

2)While social change groups have generally been seen to adopt a convergent strategy in some situations, the lawyers appear to be advocating a strategy that combines both feminine and masculine characteristics, as being most effective in a legal context. It seems likely that this is only one possible strategy that can be adopted, that within a group of women who have a "social change" belief structure, different representations of gender will give rise to the adoption of different strategies. Note also that in Giles terms convergence is not predicted in this situation.

3)As regards the linguistic strategies available for women who might hold a "social mobility" belief structure the Q sort studies have shown that the lawyers who could be said to hold this belief structure also conceptualised a corresponding linguistic strategy, but this was in non-gender-specific terms. More consideration needs to be given to the strategies seen as being effective here.

Before these difficulties are examined further, there are problems that need to be dealt with at an even more basic level concerning the identity belief structures outlined by Tajfel and Turner. It has been stated that the way an individual perceives any interaction is important in influencing the course of

that interaction, and also that it is only when a participant is asked about their perception of a particular situation, and both the "subjective" and "objective" dimensions considered (Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire 1982) that their speech behaviour can be explained. However there has been little consideration of what these basic belief structures might mean when considering women and men as social groups and consequently how an individuals' is mediated, what determines their perception in interpersonal terms as compared to intergroup terms and whether there is even a consistent or fixed identity perspective.

Williams and Giles (1978) have considered how these status quo, social mobility and social change belief structures might be applied to women and men as social groups and they suggest that in this case status quo would be indicated by an acceptance of the negative evaluation of women. As shown in the previous chapter, this characterisation is not clear cut, some women who hold a "traditional" view of relations between the sexes also identify strongly with their gender group. A social mobility belief structure would involve a rejection of this evaluation and an attempt to disassociate with being a woman, and assimilate into the superior group, ie, by taking on male behaviour and values. They suggest that this strategy can be seen in women's attempts to gain equality in political, legal and working conditions with the dominant group. At the same time success in this direction is dependent in part on the support of the dominant group, success and equality are defined in male terms and therefore the notion of change is restricted. On the other hand, a social change strategy can be seen in women's attempts to redefine and reevaluate the "feminine" dimensions that have been seen as negative and also create and search for new dimensions in order to compare themselves favourably with men.

In this chapter once again the representational aspects of speech will be the main concern rather than actual speech production. Gilbert and Mulkay (1983) point out that accounts of social action are needed in order to go beyond "direct observation" to uncover the reasons and motivations of the individual, in this case how and why the individual perceives and evaluates description of that action. The question of interest here is whether it is possible to understand peoples' representations of their identity and the strategies open to their group successfully using Tajfel's taxonomy.

Criticism can be levelled at the methodology used in many of the social psychological studies that have attempted to investigate the relation between identity and speech (Giles and Byrne 1978, Giles and Byrne 1980, Giles, Smith, Browne, Whiteman and Williams 1980). While emphasis has been placed on considering interactions and evaluations of interaction as both dynamic and complete, many recent studies have been conducted in a rigidly constructed setup, with complex manipulation of the situation. For example the emphasis placed in most of these studies on a rigid experimental approach using researcher's tidy categorisations of group membership would appear to be leading once again to artificial findings given the complex identity perspectives resulting from the identity Q sorts. Also the neat distinctions of women into the categories "feminist" and "non feminist" women on the basis of a questionnaire response sheet totally negates any consideration not only of the different perspectives within these groups but also within individuals as to the meaning they attribute to this identity label and their conceptualisations of social action. As pointed out in the previous chapters, it is the researchers who have defined these categories and labelled women accordingly.

As a starting point it is clear that what is needed in order to investigate

the identity perspectives of the lawyers further is a careful examination of representations of identity and of speech strategies using a qualitative approach which is not restricted to laboratory settings. Within this context it would appear important to extend consideration of the concept of gender identity as regards the three basic categories described by Tajfel and Turner (status quo, social mobility and social change) and begin to study the ways in which particular "versions" of gender identity are drawn on by individuals to characterise their own and others behaviour in particular social contexts, and what is achieved by these different characterisations.

Consideration will be made as to how identity and belief are constructed and an attempt made to investigate how people conceptualise their group positions and status. This kind of work has not been done before, it has simply been assumed that everyone knows who belongs to a certain social group and what are the available range of intergroup strategies. Similarly there has been little or no study as to peoples' level of awareness as to how they are speaking and what they are trying to achieve in an interaction. While Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire 1982, found that there was a contradiction between actual measures of speech dynamics and participants accounts of their speech, this area needs further consideration.

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

In order to attempt this, the concept of social representations and linguistic repertoires will be used. Social representations refer to an accounting system, the way knowledge is represented in a society and shared by its members. Farr and Moscovici (1984) make the grand claim that social representations can be understood to link thought, understanding and action to a range of cultural resources shared by large and small scale

groups. Thus it is said that it will be possible to

"Elucidate the social processes involved in the everyday, active construction of the world by participants and to show how attitudes, beliefs and attributions are formed in terms of these socially derived frameworks".

The concept of social representations originated from Durkheim but its more recent adoption and application by social psychologists differs from its original use. While sociologists took social representations as "givens" with little attention to their structure or internal dynamics, social psychologists concentrate on the way we create meaning and make our own sense, thus emphasising their active nature and not taking them as externally imposed. Social representations are now defined as,

"a set of concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of inter-individual communications".

(Moscovici 1984)

It has been claimed that by examining the process of the construction of these representations it will be possible to understand how "attitudes, beliefs and attributions are formed in terms of these socially derived frameworks" (Farr and Moscovici 1984).

While attitudes, opinions and stereotypes are all similar notions to social representations, Moscovici claims that social representations go beyond the former to consider knowledge in the form of commonsense theories about all aspects of life. Here Moscovici makes a distinction between social representations and attitudes or opinions in that the latter represent a socially approved pronouncement about or position held concerning

external objects. Social representations on the other hand, do not set up a clear cut division between the external and internal world, there is no functional separation of subject and object. Instead they are said to be both the object and the related judgements. Moscovici gives the example of the evaluation of a political party being made up of the individual's definition of that party, the political situation and the individual's own experience. (Moscovici 1973) The function that they serve is to orient people in the world and provide a code for social exchange, for describing, classifying and explaining, ie for showing how things work, making sense of the world.

Moscovici states that social representations can be distinguished from individual representations that are unique to one or a few individuals and from collective representations which are shared across a whole society, in that they are consensually adopted by social groups. Thus social groups are the units generally used for analysis

"It would seem that the group selects whatever has a figurative capacity in keeping with the group."

It is the consensual adoption of representations that leads to distinctions from other categories and establishes a group identity.

Social representations would appear then, to offer the means of considering how reality is constituted, an insight into how knowledge is represented which is agreed on amongst those who accept it. However, recently criticisms have been levelled at the concept and it has been argued that it is more useful to reconceptualise social representations as "linguistic repertoires", and to study them within the context of a more general analysis of discourse.

CRITICISMS OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

The criticisms that have been made of the conceptualisation of social representations are directed at different parts of the theory (Potter and Litton 1985), namely,

1)the vagueness of definition. Specifically Moscovici's vagueness of definition is said to be problematic once the application of this theory is attempted. For example he describes representations at different times as "images, attitudes, perceptions, ideas, concepts and statements." Obviously language plays a varying degree of importance in these different descriptions. In some of these descriptions social representations seem to be essentially linguistically constructed, in others they seem closer to a non-verbal entity.

2)the use of social groups as units , in particular the claim that it is the consensual adoption of representations that establishes a group identity. Here it would seem that inconsistencies will be introduced into the findings due to the difficulty of identifying psychologically salient social categories independently of participants representations of social categories.

"On the one hand group categories will be treated as naturally occurring phenomena which can be used as an unproblematic base for research conclusion, on the other group categories can themselves be understood as social representations constructed by participants to make sense of their social worlds"

(Potter and Litton 1985).

The potential inconsistency arises because the object which is the topic for analysis is also an analytic resource.

3)Related to this criticism is a further one concerning consensus. Potter

and Litton suggest that the emphasis on the similarity of a particular groups social representation is at the expense of variation and difference. Clearly this is important given that one of the main limitations of a sociolinguistic approach lies in its assumption of women and men as homogeneous groups and its lack of consideration of the wide range of perspectives and evaluations of male/ female relations within each group. Similarly the social psychological approach has tended to equate one set of shared perspectives as regards group membership and emphasised one consistent and corresponding strategy open to each group. When this is considered it has been shown that these differences may lead to both different uses and different perceptions of speech. Further the argument becomes circular if the degree of intra-group similarity is taken as evidence of the validity of the group in question.

LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

As an attempt to remedy these problems it has been suggested that it is more useful to reconceptualise social representations as "linguistic repertoires" and to study them within the context of a more general analysis of discourse. Potter and Litton 1985 have defined linguistic repertoires as

"recurrently used systems of terms for characterising actions, events and other phenomena."

They are said to be constituted through a wide range of lexical items and particular stylistic and grammatical constructions, combined with specific metaphors and tropes. These regular features of linguistic usage can be shown to relate to the interpretative demands of the situation. The advantages of linguistic repertoires over social representations is that the

focus is placed directly on language, its use and organisation and avoids the ambiguity over the nature of representations being either linguistically constituted or non verbal images and perceptions. Using linguistic repertoires it is possible to distinguish between the constitution of a particular repertoire and the various purposes for which it is used. For example any particular repertoire can be used for such purposes as accusing, excusing, justifying, blaming or describing. This can be seen in research on racism (Wetherell and Potter 1986) where a repertoire about "human nature" being intrinsically evil - a brutish primitive instinct - could be used for all those purposes. Some respondents used it to blame the protestors who they said were awful and demonstrated the potential for violence in certain kinds of uncivilised people (not restrained by reason). Others used the same repertoire to explain and to justify for example, the mass hysteria in the crowd situations which takes over and violence is infectious, "they can't help themselves". In other accounts this same repertoire was used as an excuse, for example to say that the police are only human, it is natural to lash out when provoked. The repertoires that will be examined in the following chapter are those of a group of lawyers characterising and representing various aspects of identity within the context of their work and their conceptualisation of available and effective linguistic strategies in the lawyer/client interaction.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES OF LAWYERS

In this chapter a final study will be described which will attempt to investigate in greater depth, the way women and men lawyers conceptualise their social positions and their interaction patterns using the concept of linguistic repertoires for the analysis which was outlined in the previous chapter. The accounts that form the basis of this study are those of thirty women lawyers, all of whom participated in both the Q sort studies described in chapters three, four and five, and a group of fifteen male lawyers who are contemporaries of the original group.

Up till now women's lesser participation in the professions can be seen to be mainly due to structural factors obstructing women. The part played by psychology has been to devote much research to locating certain personality characteristics in women that are said to act against women's "achieving" high positions or success in the professions. For example much research has concentrated on women's lesser commitment to "having a career" or to "Fear of Success" (Horner 1972).

Horner suggested that in addition to the concept of "fear of failure" that there is also a phenomenon that she called "fear of success". She considered this to be most salient for women who are highly motivated for achievement, who have learned in conjunction with sex role identity that there are certain negative consequences associated with success, for example, loss of love, loss of femininity and social rejection. Despite an

abundance of research in this area attempts to locate the origins and manifestations of this syndrome have produced inconsistent results. For example it is not clear that fear of success is linked to sex. (Feather and Simon 1975, O'Connel and Perez 1982) This has led some researchers to question whether the emphasis on psychic development is at the expense of consideration of the social barriers to women's achievement. There are few social supports available for women who want both family and a full time career, there are also social sanctions against women who are competent and ambitious (Wallston and O'Leary 1981). There are clearly criticisms to be made at attempts that seek to locate a general fear of success pathology in all women to explain women's lower achievement levels.

It has been suggested that women vary greatly in the extent to which they express anxiety about success. Something such as fear of success seems to be mediated by the perception of the situation instead of determined by a personality trait. It seems that it is the result of obstructions from structural factors, coupled with self perception and representations of women and work which play an important part in preventing women from entering these more prestigious jobs.

At various times women who worked outside the home have been viewed as immoral, negligent mothers or objects of pity. Women as paid workers have been seen as making themselves unattractive to men and inadequate as "women" if they consequently "miss out" on marriage or motherhood. Generally, now, there are widely divergent reactions to women's growing participation in employment and in the "professions". While some people see this change as positive and discuss the results of this change, others see it as the breakdown of the family, marriage and "femininity", all

elements that women are supposed to value foremost.

In terms of the language used to describe women's situation in paid employment there are obviously changes over time as particular words and phrases are circulated and reformulated in the process of social interaction, eventually to become the dominant way of understanding particular events or phenomena. By examining the use of language the values and assumptions in this society can be exposed. We would expect to find certain reoccurring themes which draw on these different assumptions and values within the accounts produced of self concept and identity of these lawyers.

In this respect Tajfel and Turner's different types of social identities and Condor and Williams and Giles' applications of these belief structures to women and men as social groups are being examined further here. In the following sections of this chapter an attempt will be made to assess the usefulness of these general categories.

Representations of speech and interaction will also be considered here. This is an area of research that has not been investigated in any detail before. While Giles has noted the importance of subject's subjective intentions and aims in adopting certain speech styles little or no examination has been given to see how conscious people are of their speech patterns, how they intend to "come across" in their interactions with others, or whether they think in terms of adopting certain strategies. The next step then, is to examine the accounts produced, concentrating on specific aspects of the interviews to see what repertoires emerge, and if the basic status quo, social mobility and social change perspectives are put across and the ideological function that the repertoires serve, thus

attempting an understanding of how lawyers construct their social worlds.

PARTICIPANTS

At the time of the first interviews all subjects were at different stages of law training at Edinburgh University. All thirty women who were interviewed here also participated in the Q sort studies, described in chapters three and four. In addition the fifteen male lawyers were colleagues of the female lawyers. Out of the thirty women and fifteen men who were interviewed three were in their second year, twenty two were in third and fourth year, and five were on placements following the degree course. Therefore the majority of the group were in the later stages of their degree training or just beginning to practise as lawyers. All of them said they were willing to be interviewed following a request in a jurisprudence lecture. The lawyers were predominantly self-defined middle class and their ages ranged from early twenties to mid forties. The group included ten women who were mature students who had participated in various other work previous to starting their law training. All subjects were interviewed individually in the Psychology department.

PROCEDURE

The interviews were carried out by the candidate. The interview format was divided into 5 sections which dealt with reasons for choosing law as a career, self evaluation, self perception, attitudes towards change and evaluation of "career" as compared with other aims and interests. The complete interview format can be seen in appendix IX. Each interview was tape-recorded with the participants consent and then transcribed. The extracts from these interviews which will be analysed are coded in the following manner. F or M refers to the sex of the speaker and the following

number is the transcript number. The aim of this part of the thesis is to elicit lawyers' accounts of their beliefs and action related to identity and speech in the context of their work as lawyers and then to examine the ways in which these accounts are constructed. There was a large amount of data generated by these interviews so only particular sections will be focused on which relate specifically to the research questions.

ANALYSIS

DIFFERENCE

While psychological research has come up with few actual differences in the behaviour of women and men (see Maccoby and Jacklin 1974 for a general summary of this research and chapter one for differences and similarities as regards speech) there are clearly defined consensually held stereotypes which are well known and frequently drawn on (see chapter two). Often these stereotypes or believed differences are used as justification for the differentiation of roles and occupations in this society.

In this section the accounts will be examined which discuss the way respondents characterise lawyers.

One clear pattern that emerges from the interviews is that the participants frequently describe lawyers in terms of differences; the ways in which women differ from men. This repertoire was found to be present in 67% interviews.

F1 "Well, it tends to be the girls who are less competitive anyway, not necessarily, but on the whole."

F2 "There are some boys that actually, I would say they are better than the girls, they're more ambitious in a way. I think theres a certain determination for them to get on, to do

terribly well".

F3 "I think women find it harder to disassociate themselves from the problems. Men maybe can take a more objective look at it. But I'd hope that a woman could disassociate herself from a case otherwise it's a bad thing if you're getting involved with a problem and you can't look at it objectively you're less likely to find the solution to it. So it's better if you learn to stand back to look at it".

F4 "I don't know whether its just me, but, I feel the boys in our year are more confident -they're going to get there. I think the girls are slightly less, they're certainly quieter. I know there are exceptions to the rule but, I don't know, later on, I don't know if one is better than the other but possibly the boys have got what it takes to make it."

M1 "I think it's still more likely that the ambitious ones are going to be the males. Just the impression you get. Mind you there's a lot of ambitious females I suppose, but I still think the majority, the majority of ones who are going to be partners by the time they're thirty will still be males, although there are a lot of women in law, they just don't seem to get to the top even now."

F5 "I think it's a bad thing to get too involved and over-emotional when you are interacting with a client. Thats where women tend to have problems. But on the other hand a lot of lawyers, mainly men, are accused of being far too cool. I think you have to be - not aloof, but I think you have to stand apart and be quite impersonal. Be personal up to a point and then keep detached."

F6 "You need to be a person who shows concern and looks as if you're interested and be supportive if someone comes to you. I feel as though I could match up to those qualities, the only thing is that it would depend how emotionally involved I became, typical woman that I am, I don't know if I could hand it on to someone else, I do tend to get carried away".

F7 "As an advocate you have to be forceful, straight to the point, you need to be that inside, it would be an extension of yourself, they can be forceful, it's in them. You would need to think, well yes, lets get on with this and come out with it really strong so that you could try and get away with it - sort of exaggerate what you are inside."

F8 "I think more women going into law is important, as much as that they are interested in different areas of law than men, as of improving the quality. I think it does improve the quality of the profession. Perhaps areas like family law, even law concerned with property, women just have a very different viewpoint, or are prepared to argue more."

M2 " From past statistics women tend to be more compassionate, particularly with divorce which men are traditionally insensitive about. So I think women might make an impression which will help make law accessible because they do tend to see whats important for the client better than men do, so that might bring change."

F9 "I'm sure it would be better if there were a lot more women up there. I'm sure it would be, undoubtably but it's just because I think, nothing to do with being particularly feminist, that most of the women that I know have got far more of the qualities that might be useful in the public relations, communicating with people and solving their problems. They don't - this is purely personal, what I feel, of people that I know, about how they sort out problems, they don't fiddle around and bring out little petty issues like males do and squabble about things. Most people that I know , if theres a job to do, then a female will do it, the males will flap around, its purely personal -that i've just happened to meet the good females who do the jobs, but it tends to be fairly wide spread. I don't think they'd squabble as much and I think it would be a good idea. In industry as well and in parliament, but I think thats true."

M3 "I think they sympathise more than men do and therefore they are more determined to change it. Perhaps they are more sympathetic to most of their clients, more involved and prepared to argue better because they can see themselves in that position."

F10 "Having more women going into the law makes for a difference and it's quite good. Even though theres the same amount of women as men starting law now, I think it's still thought of as a man's job, into a man's world and they'll act differently in that world."

F11 "Just looking around my friends, its not so competitive amongst the girls, they don't tend to bother, but among the

boys everyone seems to be striving to get higher."

All these extracts draw on and take for granted differences between women and men, in most cases traditional stereotypical characteristics of women and men. The theme of differences is used to characterise women as being "concerned", "caring" and "person oriented", men as "task-oriented", "forceful" and "rational". In the first set of extracts this difference is used to imply, or in some cases to justify that women will not make as good lawyers as men. Women's "essential" characteristics are not the right ones for law. Women are described as not "ambitious", "determined" or "competitive" enough, or alternatively, predisposed to become "too involved" in the cases, and "over emotional". This is also true of the speech styles that are described, for example, women are said to be less likely to be able to argue forcefully, and this is taken as the reason why women are not going to make it in the most prestigious areas of law. Here as elsewhere men's behaviour is seen as the norm, women are measured up against this "norm" and any deviation is seen as women's inadequacy. It has been said that

"What has been imposed on women through our oppression or prejudice should not be part of our definitions and thus be further perpetuated".

Gisela Ecker 1985

it would appear that this is just what is happening here, the traditional definitions of women are accepted and taken as "fact" alongwith their deviation from men, whose behaviour is taken as being "the norm", resulting in women being seen as inadequate. Given this assumed difference some respondents continue by suggesting that the best strategy is for women to learn to act as men do, to adopt their behaviour and their

values, for example to learn to "disassociate" and "stand back" and be more "objective" thus bridging this difference.

The second set of extracts characterise women as being beneficial to the law for various reasons, or even to argue that they are better suited, but still the concept of difference is the common theme in each case. Here once again women tend to be characterised in stereotypical terms around the "caring" dimension, for example it is said that their interests are more likely to be in such areas as family law. It is said that it will be beneficial to the legal profession to have more women going into it because they are better at "communicating", "compassionate", "less competitive" or "less likely to squabble". What is interesting here is that the characteristics that are drawn on to construct the difference are obviously flexible and the evaluation varies. For example in some cases the characteristic "sympathetic" is used to explain why women are not suited to being lawyers, because they will get too involved, whereas in another extract it is used in a positive way to suggest that this difference will result in change. Similarly, another difference between women and men is said to be that men are able to argue more forcefully, in another, it is said to be women who are able to argue better. While clearly the concept of difference is meaningful for all these respondents, the content of the difference is fluid, it can be varied according to the case that the respondent chooses to make.

An extract from an interview with Simone Weil talking about women's entry into professional positions can be seen to put forward a similarly constructed account in drawing on the assumed differences between women and men in a positive way.

"I have found that women and men are so different in their approach and concept and in their way of working that the mere fact of a woman taking part in a meeting can change the solution of problems in an important way. If women take part in all fields of our social and economic life and not just in family questions this will, to my mind, produce important changes. This must be wholly beneficial and need not apply specifically to political life."

Simone Weil 1986

INDIVIDUALISM

In terms of the way respondents characterised people who they considered made good lawyers, most accounts outlined a specific set of characteristics that a lawyer should "match up" to. 67% respondents drew on this repertoire in their descriptions of lawyers at some point in the interview. In many cases these characteristics included speech characteristics and the assumption was that they remained consistent and stable across both contexts and time. Individuals tended to be characterised as having or not having the necessary traits.

M4 "To make it as a lawyer you have to be someone who is methodical and knows their stuff. Someone who is going to work steadily and who wants to achieve. You have to be like that. You have to be able to work with who you're dealing with."

M5 "If you want to be a lawyer you have to be willing to study and slog, I think it depends what sort of brain you've got, if you enjoy that sort of thing. I know a lot of my friends do, and have that ability."

F12 "I wouldn't want to be a advocate, I don't fancy being in court, that side of it. I'm not outgoing enough. You have to be very confident and everything just on top of your head which I haven't got."

F13 "I was thinking how an advocate has to portray an image in court. I think, if you've got the gift of the gab, winning the court over by good public speaking, being able to

create the right mood and atmosphere, that has a lot to do with law. Presentation counts for a lot. It sounds quite boastful but I think I could live up to most of those qualities. I enjoy public speaking, and I don't mind speaking under pressure, I have a certain flair for it."

F14 "You must be a good communicator and choose your words carefully which I don't think I'd be very good at. I think I'll have trouble choosing words carefully and I'll have to try to be a bit more tactful. You can't be straight with people you have to be a bit more diplomatic and answer their questions. I tend to be too direct."

The idea of being a certain type of person who possesses certain traits is made explicit in the following extracts

F3 "It depends what sort of person you are and whether you fit in to what the job requires. I think it's either something you are or you aren't. I'm not sure if there is anything you can do to change yourself. For example you have to have clear expression, external expression comes from thinking clearly internally and I think that the first is consequent on the second. If you can't think clearly you can't express yourself clearly, you've got that ability or you haven't, you'll make it or you won't."

F10 "The main thing is to use words precisely You need to know what you mean to say and be able to say it in such a way that people around you understand exactly what you mean without any ambiguities. You have got to have the capacity to understand what other people mean, even if they don't use words as carefully. You've got to be able to try and understand what they say.....I don't look on my behaviour and my speech as a lawyer as a role, or as something I take on. It's what I am. That could be just at the moment. It tends to overlap everything else and its the main focus. But even when you walk down the street you think of things, you're still a lawyer with those characteristics, thats you."

This fits in with the "trait theory" model in psychology which emphasises certain characteristics as being inherent in a person. These traits or characteristics are taken to be consistent over time and situation. The idea is that certain "types" of people who have a specific set of traits are needed to fit into slots defined by the various jobs or professions. In

addition it is suggested that these characteristics are not ones which everyone possesses. The following extracts all refer to a lawyer being a person who has exceptional ability.

F14 "There are a lot of women lawyers now so I don't feel any different. I still think that while there aren't many women in the court, there aren't many women at the bar. I always get the impression that they must have been the best from their year. I don't think they can just have been average students. All very dedicated and don't seem to have families. I think you have to have the attitude, can I do this for myself, rather than can I do this for women as a whole."

F2 "I wouldn't want to be an advocate. I couldn't cope with that, having the attention of everyone on me and I'm not particularly ambitious. I don't want to be the boss or anything, I'll be quite happy just to have a good job and the money. Some of my friends that's what they see themselves doing. They've got the confidence. They chose that rather than being a solicitor as you can go further. It's different, it's really the top notch that go into that. "

M6 "To be a good lawyer you must be a person who listens carefully. I don't know about being logical I'm not a very logical person. I think you need to sparkle in certain ways and get trust and they can feel they can relate to you, that's most important. If you haven't got that you're sunk, that's why so many don't make it."

Here the extracts refer to only the "top notch" or those with "sparkle" being able to match the necessary criteria. In order to be a good lawyer the suggestion is that the individual has to prove themselves and match up to these criteria. Respondents who consider that they have the necessary qualities state that they will show that they can "live up" to the job. The legal structure is thus characterised as an unchangeable, static entity, a person has to adapt to a certain set of demands, externally imposed and those who do not have those "innate" traits, will not make it. There is no suggestion that occupational position might structure individual nature.

This obviously has implications for social change. If a person's success or failure as a lawyer depends on them having the right or the wrong abilities, then there seems little allowance made for change. This will be examined later in the chapter in the section on change.

"EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS"

One of the central considerations for all women, whatever work we do is how to "manage" our time so that other aspects of our lives can be included. When considering women in "professional" positions one of the current issues is the degree of importance placed on the "career" itself, whether it takes on primary importance and value above all else or is it "fitted in" with other concerns? The structure is set up so that the two do not fit easily together, many women have to combine both as best they can, those who have the choice are presented with many arguments which argue for their total commitment in one or the other role.

As stated by (Sharpe 1978) women's primary role is still assumed to be her role at home as wife and mother, within the domestic sphere while men their work outside the home is given priority. Similarly Oakley (1984) talks of the sexual division of labour, in particular of the domestic roles of wife and mother, which she calls "the myth of motherhood". and illustrates how it is still frequently stated that women's priority and ultimate fulfilment lies in the home and as childbearer.

When talking about women's place in the legal profession, careers and children two themes reoccurred throughout the interviews. One theme can be called the "equal rights" theme where participants used phrases referring to the obvious importance and value of equal opportunities for women and men and an end to discrimination. This was seen to occur in 44%

accounts. The other theme draws on "practical considerations" to argue that it is not possible to end discrimination nor change women's position. This was repertoire was used in 63% accounts. The reasons given are either said to be the "essential" nature of women and men, or the unchangeable career or marriage structure. Here are examples of the two themes

F15 "Women in law, generally they are lot more accepted than they used to be. I don't think you can, I don't think its as easy for a woman. Definitely it's not, not to be an advocate or a partner in a big firm. Whether they say there's discrimination or not, when it comes to choosing a partner, they'll just exclude women straight away. There should be an end to that discrimination."

F14 "My career is really quite important to me. If I had to choose between a family and a career it would be difficult. There's no way that after going through all this education and training that I'm going to get married and have kids. Possibly I'll get married at the age of thirty. I mean it's a simple attitude of folks when you go for jobs in interviews they ask, are you engaged, are you married, are you planning to have a family. It's not right, there should be an end to all that."

F9 "There is the occasional piece of injustice, for instance in getting time off work, one man is allowed off because he has a sore throat but a woman, because she is pregnant, it puts her in a different position and I don't think that's fair. I think if more women come along it might help a bit. I know that it's more accepted now to have a woman in a solicitor's practice, but I think if you had a few in court it might help."

F5 "I don't think it will make much of a difference that there are more females doing law. But of course people say when you get on the males go further because if they get married, they go on working, but if a woman becomes an advocate, she gets married and gets pregnant then shes not going to get very high. I can see their point. People expect you to drop out. There are only two women sheriffs."

M6 "I think many companies will now take girls but I haven't any experience. I've been told that they do prefer men because obviously they are going to get forty years work out of them, whereas you won't get that from a girl if she gets married."

F11 "The problem is that they might be taking on someone who is going to be there for only three years. As for me, certainly I want to practise for a while. Then to me, I don't see the point of having a family if you employ a nanny to look after them for the first six years of their lives. I suppose I'm really a fairly motherly person, I don't like to say that in a way but I would like a family. How I'll be able to I don't know but I'll probably work part-time or something, but I want my children to know me, and not someone who comes in at five o'clock."

F3 "I rate my career pretty highly, I wouldn't say as high as other people. I'd quite like to get married and have children. Again I'd hate to be a house wife it'd be boring. I'd probably be disappointed if I reached thirty and hadn't got married. I'm sure it's difficult to combine roles. I don't know if it's very fair on the children not to be home, and working all day. It doesn't seem very satisfactory but theres not much you can do about it really."

F10 "I value my career quite highly. This is difficult. The only thing would be if I had children, but my mother has this thing, she believes strongly that if you have children its important that you're always there if they need you and that when they come in from school you're there. I agree with her. I don't know if that's because shes always taught us that or whether I actually think that myself but at the same time I would hate to just be getting to the things that I wanted to do and then have to give it all up."

F4 "I don't think it's necessarily correct that women are discriminated against but that's just the way it is. Women are different and I don't think we can be the same."

The first extracts in this section draw once again on the essential nature of

women that "obviously" and "of course", they will choose to have a family, rather than work, or that work will inevitably come second. This is seen as a natural choice, women are primarily "motherly". The justification frequently given as to why work and family cannot be practically combined is that it is not fair on the children. No consideration is given to the idea of the husband taking his part in childcare. In the extracts where family is not the reason for the woman leaving her career or moving jobs, it is her husband or marriage which is put forward as the "difficulty". The extracts all illustrate a certain inevitability to the situation. Clearly the role of a mother differs from that of a father and there are different commitments for both. A woman's primary role is as mother or wife and involves being "always there" for the children. In this respect there is a difference from the role requirements of a good father as can be seen in the following extract.

M7 "My careers all important. I won't get married till I've sorted out my career. I'd be a good father and pay for an abortion."

Here it is clearly stated by this male lawyer that career comes first. This is taken as unproblematic and not needing further justification. Marriage and family are seen as separable and no mention is made of any conflict between the two roles. A traditional role structure is implicitly assumed.

In the above extracts the same respondent draws on each theme (equal opportunities and practical considerations) at different times during the interview, in the following extracts the two themes occur one straight after the other.

M7 "I'm all for equal opportunities. No, I'm not sexist. I

think I'd feel safe with a man lawyer. I think because of the press as well, you don't expect a woman lawyer to be as competent, you don't expect it. Some of the girls doing law, are amongst the most moronic, they just keep their nose in their books and copy them out to their hearts content each day. They don't even do well. Girls just worry too much, more than the men do. Some girls usually the first class ones do work harder than the boys, but some of them just don't get the results. I daresay a woman should give just as competent advice as a man. But then women will never play the same part in law as men, they'll always be preoccupied with families."

M8 "I think it's good that there's more women in the legal profession, there's more of a balance, and I don't think that, I don't think that's going to change much, the attitudes, but it's a good thing as such that you get more of a balance. I don't quite know how that's going to affect things like married life, that type of thing. I think it's very important, it's extremely important aspect because the whole family centre around that and it could be quite difficult. I can imagine that if you've got two professional people with young children, it's good that women should have a career, the bible says that, but it could cause problems. It is a good thing but you need a balance, there's another role that women have in life and I think that the family side is very important. I feel that one of the dangers of it all is that the whole thing goes overboard to the extent that it irretrievably damages the marriage life, you find children growing up with an insecure home, not so much from the financial point of view, I mean they've got all the wealth that mother and father can provide, but they haven't got the love and the care and the concern. Being farmed out to nanny's, it's not really good I don't think, so you've got to get a balance. That's up to the individual, how they feel about their marriage, if they want it to work.

F15 "My husband and I have spent a lot of time discussing how to have an equal relationship. I rate my career very highly and so my husband and I aren't going to have children, so it's very important for me. I think even if we had children it would be very important anyhow. I need to feel I'm someone, I think women do, and having gone through all this education I wouldn't feel someone if I had triplets. But it's difficult. If we got jobs in different places I would say that I'd have to give priority to my husband. I think we're both agreed that we're not going to pull on each other, if we can help it, but I suppose if it came to a conflict between the two I would choose my husband. I think it's difficult to say I think he's a priority, it wouldn't be much of a marriage if I say he doesn't come first."

In the first of these extracts the male lawyer uses the "equal opportunities"

theme to describe himself in clear terms as "non-sexist". He then uses the "practical considerations" theme to explain why it is reasonable to distrust the competency of women lawyers and to argue that women won't make any impression in the legal profession because of their "preoccupation with families". This allows him to make a seemingly clear cut statement characterising himself in liberal terms, then rationalising his adherence to the status quo which is presented as inevitable.

In the second extract the two themes are drawn on once again. This male lawyer states that he sees it as a good thing that more women are training as lawyers yet his next sentence concerns itself with the effect this will have on married life. The rest of the extract alternates between this liberal stance, maintaining that it is good for women to have a career, that it creates a "balance" with the is continual reservations that women can go "overboard" or "tip" this balance which leads to "irretrievable damage" namely in giving too much time to their career and changing their role the damage is said to include effects on the children, married life, the family. At no point is there consideration of a change in these roles for example shared child care. In this respect the overall sentiment gives support to the maintenance of traditional roles. The practical considerations are presented so that they outweigh the theoretical ideals. This serves the purpose of putting forward a liberal stance, an open minded and forward thinking position, which is consistently undermined by the presentation of reasons why this can't be achieved. In the last extract the desirability of an equal relationship is expressed, yet later on it is said that the marriage is the first priority over work and that it would be the participant who would leave her career rather than her husband. So once again practical considerations are the justification for a continuance of the status quo.

In all these extracts the idea of conflict is stated. Taking all the interviews with women lawyers into consideration, 60% women expressed feelings of conflict between their domestic and occupational roles. The double bind of the ideal of "the good mother" is brought up which is seen as requiring a woman to be at home for the children and the implicit assumption is made that it will be the mother rather than the father who will fulfill this role. Yet this total commitment to family is not seen as being "enough" for these women and the speakers state personal feelings that having a career is important to them. In this respect dissatisfaction is expressed with having to make a choice, but no means of avoiding this conflict is proposed. The status quo is presented as unchangeable. In almost all the interviews the women lawyers describe the conflict between roles as a personal problem which they had to solve themselves. No alternative repertoire is drawn on to suggest that the career structure, family or marriage roles needs to be reassessed or changed. The way of dealing with this situation that some of the women outlined was to keep the two roles separate and try to fulfill both sets of expectations as best as possible.

F3 "I would like to think I could match a good career and a family and they wouldn't interfere with each other. You just have to go all out for it and get on".

F13 "I don't tend to think of myself as a career woman, just shutting everything else out, that's where my perspective is different. I don't see that as me at all even though at the moment a career is the most important thing to me. That's because nothing else has interfered, but should it, I'd try to do both whatever it was and try to keep on working. Perhaps not in law, I don't know if its possible. But I wouldn't like to get married and just give up working so I'd try it."

These two extracts can be characterised as the "superwoman" approach. The strategy is an individualistic one, the belief is to accept the career structure as it is and that it is up to the woman concerned to show total commitment to work as men do, as well as showing total commitment to family and children as women are expected to. In both extracts the two roles are divided. Shirley Conran's "Superwoman" illustrates this individualistic repertoire to perfection and the similarities with these extracts are easy to see.

"You must be unobtrusive about your work and never expect your husband to help you do it: thats really baring your breast for the dagger."

She outlines superwoman's routine for Monday to Friday and then adds

"If you're doing a full time job you probably won't have time for a daily routine but rely on one thorough week end cleaning swoop. In which case still use the list above, and for further ideas turn to page 147 for "How to be a working wife.""

Shirley Conran 1977

While this "practical considerations" theme occurred in almost every interview, specifically in 80% accounts. There was the occasional alternative repertoire found in 8% accounts.

F16 "I would like ideally to have more time and have another baby and not spend so much time as a lawyer. I'd like to see more job flexibility, job sharing, the opportunity to work part time so that the two could be combined more adequately. I'd like to spend more time seeing them all and doing other things. I'd also like to see moves towards paternity leave so that fathers could more easily take over childcare and take time off from their work. It'd make a much saner world and would benefit everyone, but with the current situation its miles away."

This extract differs from those above in suggesting several structural changes as a solution to the "choice" of work or family. The speaker states her wish to combine family and work to a greater extent than she is currently able. She suggests practical moves would lead to a more satisfactory integration of the two. She also suggests changes in roles so that there is a redefinition of the role of the father towards playing a greater share in childcare. While several structural changes are put forward the speaker is not optimistic. The problem is placed with the "current situation" ie economic and political rather than being seen as a personal one as seen above.

CHANGE

In this section the interviews will be examined to see the way in which the lawyers account for change within the legal profession. The main repertoire found here articulated a passive idea of change.

M5 "Well it will take a long time, you just have to look at the whole court system and the ages of the judges, it'll be a long time until any women get up there. It's difficult because as long as women have families it's no use."

F11 "I think once we're outside and working full time it'll be harder but I think you have to accept that. It takes time to change. Maybe if I was at the receiving end of bias I wouldn't be so happy, but normally I think it will change in time."

F12 "I think it will take ten years or so. It will take to the time my contemporaries are getting the jobs. I think some are getting to the top, but certainly it seems as though the girls are having a harder time getting the jobs. Obviously you have to be really good to get the jobs but if girls are as good as a boy, the boy will get it."

F4 "I really haven't come across any discrimination but I think nowadays there wouldn't be any bias because things have changed. I think there would be more if you went into

court practise because there are normally few practising females, and it's pretty biased in that area."

These extracts all draw on the idea of change occurring with time. This repertoire was frequently drawn on and found to be present in 71% accounts. The conceptualisation of change is phrased passively as something which takes place gradually and of its own accord. No mention is given of people actively adopting specific action to motivate social change. In some cases change is spoken of in the past tense as if any desirable changes had already taken place and therefore a certain satisfaction with the current status quo is expressed. A few extracts talk of change in less passive terms and refer to the idea of change occurring as more women move up the profession.

M7 "I think it might do one day. Not in Scotland in the sense that its very old-fashioned. Something like advocates, I mean we've only three women lecturers in the law faculty and every one of them is dreadful, I mean they're absolutely dire and thats just - none of the girls who go into law - they're all the same type, very hard working very quiet. There are a few outgoing ones, and I think you'll find very few of the girls going on to be advocates, a heck of a lot of them will go on to be solicitors. I think a vast majority of them will go on to become solicitors or something else along those lines, but not, I don't think it will change it in any way because I still think it will be a man's profession in the sense that it is a very conservative style profession and I don't think they're suited to it. Well I don't think there is a woman judge in Scotland, I think there are woman sheriffs, there's not a woman high court judge on the court of session or anything like that, theres no women in the house of lords, theres very few in England, well there will be a few but its just the same as in politics, there are very few women M.P's there will never be your three hundred group of M.P's or there will never be half a bench in a court of session or in the house of lords that will be women."

M9 "There has been change, women, numbers have gone up over the last few years so that there are more than men. But I don't know, women haven't been very successful so far. The highest is a woman sheriff or advocates, they haven't really sorted the male part yet."

Numbers are mentioned here and change is seen in terms of women achieving high positions. These two accounts consider that change will occur when women reach "men's" positions. This creates two impressions, first that these are the positions to be reached for and what is valued and second that women's position will change automatically as more women reach these "heights". In this respect the repertoire presents a limited conception of social change. This repertoire was present in 54% interviews. Any active attempts on the part of individuals to initiate structural changes are characterised negatively

F3 "Well I support feminist ideas, they want certain changes in the law, but sometimes I think they go a bit over the top. They blacken their name just by being too extreme. Painting on walls and that, I know its not all of them but things like that tend to put back the feminist movement."

F11 "Yes, I want to stick with law and I would like to see certain changes, but then you've got to balance out the pros and cons because I am female, whether I can make a marked difference is doubtful. I'd probably labelled as an out and out feminist which isn't true, and the odds would be stacked against me. I'm not like them, they're just too extreme."

F8 "Well as it is out of fifty of us there are about fifty extremists, we'd probably be termed as extremists. I feel terrible about it as its not deliberate its just the way I am. But a lot of women feel threatened by us. But I can see the injustices, theres an awful lot of injustices in law. But then you only have to look around the world and see that the British system is one of the most efficient ones. So sometimes I do want change and I really feel I can make a healthy contribution but I'm not like some people who push things too far and are too radical."

In these extracts people who want change are characterised as being "over the top" or "extreme". In the third extract the speaker says that she wants change but distinguishes herself from others, those who are "too radical", or want to push things "too far". Instead she characterises her own wish for change as being "healthy". An alternative repertoire was found in a few

, specifically in 11% accounts. This is illustrated in the following two extracts.

MIO "With women coming into the law, that'll be a fine thing, let's face it, we're a society of men and women. But at the same time I wonder how much difference that would ever make unless in simple personal terms. Because I think whole questions of identity come in there. A woman starting as a lawyer, does she see herself, it doesn't sound quite right, but, does she see herself as a woman or does she see herself as a lawyer? Does she see herself as a woman in a man's profession or does she see herself differently - all these sorts of things, any woman coming into the law will be faced with these questions of identity and the types of answers that she finds ultimately dictate the type of influence that she has on the profession.....It goes to the roots of men and women, its perhaps, well, it has important implications for a new profession. I think the question goes much wider than women."

FIG "I think a lot of people find it hard going to see a solicitor, its a very intimidating procedure, I think women in particular do and women are often, within a family, in need of a solicitor's services and its quite bad enough having problems without having to worry about having an unpleasant experiences with a middle class male solicitor who can't empathise at all with what you're talking about although they can present legal remedies to you. I think there is a need to make it more accessible and generally pleasanter and more manageable experience, less professional in a way. Just by being a woman alone is a step towards being a...., demystifying it and making it seem straightforward, not lapsing into Latin phrases and producing remedies round it and advising."

In these two extracts change is seen positively. In the first extract the speaker also outlines that change could take different forms; and therefore does not see it as a passive process, or as a result of more women entering law, but as specific action taken by women with an aim to move towards change. The speaker refers to the potential of a complete change in the values of the profession and the role of a lawyer changing.

Similarly the second extract clearly acknowledges the need for change with directions stated as to exactly what change is necessary in this case

interaction patterns are mentioned. In this account the belief is that women will bring some form of change in themselves. In some ways this can be seen as the perspective that would draw on differences between women and men and suggests that women, as a result of their oppression embody compassion, and understanding to a degree not demonstrated by men. This is seen here as resulting in positive action in "demystifying" the law. Active practical changes are also mentioned here ie of being "straightforward", "dejargonising" the legal terms and helping with advice. These last two extracts illustrate a perspective which sees change as positive and necessary. In both accounts change is seen as a result of specific action taken by individuals or groups which can take different forms.

DISCUSSION

The previous sections have shown the diversity in the accounts given by the lawyers concerning both aspects of identity and speech. Examination of the accounts has allowed for a set of reoccurring repertoires to be isolated which illustrate the limitations on individual's systems for making sense of themselves and their work. An attempt has been made to make clear the rationalisations and understandings of this group of lawyers. Comparison with other research in this area shows that these repertoires are not unique to this group but that there are marked similarities with the repertoires drawn on by other groups discussing their ideas about careers and the nature of employment. (Stiven, Wetherell and Potter 1986) The repertoires of themes that are drawn on will shape the experience of work and social position. These accounts are a product of material conditions, social structure and power alongwith the representations of the situation which has, to a certain extent, an autonomous nature.

In representing women and men as lawyers, it was clear that the idea of difference played an important part. There was reliance on stereotypical differences which were used to explain that women were deficient in certain ways as compared to men as lawyers. An alternative account used the concept of difference to argue that women are more suited to being lawyers. Clearly the content of the difference varied and was used for a range of purposes, in many cases to justify the status quo, or to argue for women to act as men do, thus putting across an individualistic strategy.

An essentially individualistic repertoire was illustrated in the descriptions of the requirements of a lawyer. This was seen in terms of certain traits being necessary. A psychological check list seemed to be drawn up to outline what sort of person would make a lawyer. This set of characteristics were seen as consistent across contexts and it was implied that they were inherent in an individual. In many cases it was made clear that these criteria set certain people apart as exceptional or special and more likely to be successful. This served to maintain the status quo within the law, as emphasis for success or failure in the legal profession was laid on psychological factors and no attention paid to structural or sociological factors.

Two predominant themes occurred in the accounts in talking about careers and marriage. These were called the "equal opportunities" and "practical considerations" themes. While the first drew on egalitarian principles, these ideals were undermined by the practical considerations theme justifying the current status quo by citing the "inevitable" and unchangeable nature of the current situation. As a result these two themes served the function of allowing a person to put across a positive impression, of arguing for "liberalism", "equal opportunities" and "egalitarianism", while counter-acting

these claims using "practical" reasons to retire from this and to support the status quo. In some accounts individualism reappeared in the form of the strategy outlined for women to deal with the conflict of trying to combine work and family. A "superwoman" approach was put forward to suggest that women should put on a brave and determined face and do both, that it was up to the individual to prove that they could combine the two using such phrases as "getting on" and "trying it".

Finally consideration was paid to the conceptualisations of change in the accounts. Here a reoccurring theme of change "occurring" with time was evident in almost all the accounts. For the most part change was couched in passive terms and as being something which occurs gradually. Any active attempts for social change were characterised negatively as "extreme" or "unnecessary". This allowed for support once again of the status quo. An alternative theme was found in a few of the accounts which outlined specific strategies needed in order to change not the individual but the social relations and social structure itself.

The analysis has made explicit the problem of characterising individuals in terms of social change, social mobility and status quo belief structures. While an account might seem to be drawing on one of these sets of beliefs at one stage, in most cases it could be seen to be returning to a status quo repertoire at another stage. This was perhaps clearest as regards the "equal opportunities" and "practical considerations" themes. These inconsistencies and changes in the adoption of the various themes mean that the assumption of coherent and consistent identity perspectives must be questioned. This has important theoretical implications. If within the course of one interview a person is shifting from a social change, to social mobility to status quo belief structure, the whole understanding of a fixed

category system as regards social identity comes into question. The basis for most research on social identity has rested on Tajfel and Turner's continuum of belief structures; numerous studies have been carried out which divide people into these groupings and then investigate the corresponding social behaviour shown by group members. However, it now seems that the categorisation of women and men into subgroupings on the basis of the strategies they adopt is now more problematic than previously thought. It would seem then, that individuals as group members do not put across a consistent social identity, or specific strategy and consequently the study of social identity needs rethinking.

Using this analysis it is possible to illustrate the ideological purpose served by this variability. Individuals can present themselves in a positive light - speaking of their willingness and desire for social change and then undermine these wishes by recourse to the "difficulties" in attempting any form of social change. As a result the status quo remains. The lack of alternatives articulated or the limited conceptualisation of any representation of change means that the current social structure is maintained and propped up. By focusing on these linguistic constructions it is possible to include consideration of this inconsistency and variability in the examination of identity and the corresponding strategies involved in social change.

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to investigate the speech styles of women and men. In the initial chapters, research using a sex differences, sociolinguistic and social psychological approach was described and assessed. It seemed as though the social psychological approach with its consideration of social identity in relation to speech offered the most satisfactory framework for making sense of the variations in speech style. By using Tajfel and Turner's taxonomy of identity perspectives and available strategies for social action in conjunction with Giles' theory of Speech Accommodation it was possible to ask the question of whether there is a relationship between identity and speech when considering women and men as groups.

Through the use of Q Sort methodology, two studies were described which elicited the identity perspectives and speech strategies of a group of women lawyers who were just beginning their career as lawyers. These studies produced a picture of identity which was clearly more complicated than that put forward by Tajfel and Turner and demonstrated the advantages of adopting methodology which allows participants to construct their own perspectives, without the researcher imposing her own preconceived categories.

Similarly a complicated array of speech strategies emerged as regards the speech considered most appropriate in the context of the interaction between lawyer and client. These strategies were examined in relation to the stereotypical characteristics which make up "masculine" and "feminine" speech. Some of the speech strategies could be understood in terms of a positive evaluation of "feminine" characteristics or a combination of

characteristics as being most desirable, while others were not so clear cut and drew on "neutral" traits to characterise the best speech style to adopt in lawyer/client interaction. However although there was some relation between the identity and the speech factors this was not in the way predicted by Giles. The women who seemed to have shown a social change belief structure (I1) did not outline a speech strategy that emphasised their own group speech characteristics, ie a divergent strategy but instead valued a combination of speech characteristics as being most adequate for the interaction with their client. This same speech strategy was also outlined by I3 the "Traditional" factor seen to be close to a status quo belief structure, who, using Giles' predictions would be expected to value the characteristics that make up the outgroup speech style, ie demonstrate a convergent strategy. This was not the case. Similarly I8, also considered close to holding a "status quo" belief structure as characterised by Tajfel and Turner, did not show evidence of adopting a convergent strategy. The picture as regards the strategy favoured by a "social mobility" group, was even more complicated and not characterised in "masculine" and "feminine" terms. It was concluded that Giles' concepts of convergence and divergence can not be usefully applied when considering women and men as social groups, and this brings into question the applicability of these concepts in relation to other groups.

Given that the Q sort studies had only used a small part of the interview information, namely statements that fitted in with either Tajfel and Turner's identity taxonomy, or stereotypical speech characteristics, it was thought to be important to return to the interviews in order to consider the lawyers accounts of themselves and their awareness of their own interaction, in greater depth and to investigate the adequacy of Tajfel and Turner's

conceptualisations of the social identity continuum.. By adopting the concept of linguistic repertoires as a framework it was possible to include consideration of the inconsistency in the accounting systems. This study demonstrated a set of reoccurring repertoires in the interviews, and revealed that within any one interview, lawyers most often drew on more than one repertoire. Specifically they tended for example, not to outline a social mobility strategy and stay with it throughout the course of the interview. Instead there were many examples of contradictions and changes in some cases within the one extract from an individualistic, "social mobility" strategy, to social change to an acceptance of the status quo. This served the important function of allowing the lawyer to present him or herself in a favourable, liberal or even radical light, which was then undermined through recourse to alternative repertoires which justified and held on to traditional status quo values.

In conclusion this creates problems for Tajfel and Turner's concepts of social identity which rest on the assumption of relatively stable and consistent categorisations and corresponding strategies for social action. It would seem then, that the Q sort studies have been useful in allowing the lawyers to outline one speech style that they say they wish to adopt in their interactions with their clients. It is likely that for the purpose of this research situation, some lawyers chose one particular way of characterising themselves and one particular speech style that they considered appropriate and sorted the Q statements accordingly. Taking the interviews into consideration, it would seem that this would most likely be only one of many possible speech styles that they saw as available to them. The interviews would suggest that they might well present themselves in varying and less straightforward, uncomplicated ways, and change between

interaction patterns as their perception of the situation shifted and changed. Identity management including the part played by speech is flexible and dynamic and subtle shifts take place within any social situation as perceptions change and participants manage the impression they are creating. The accounts of the participants concerning speech style showed that in most cases there was a limited awareness of the way they interact or the way they would like to interact. A small number of the lawyers had clear ideas for social change and outlined various speech strategies that they considered would help to initiate changes in the legal profession. These few accounts contrasted strongly with the rest of the accounts which outlined only a limited conceptualisation of change, based on individualistic moves alone.

It would seem then, that the two Q sort studies and the interview analysis in this thesis have examined the question of gender identity and speech in some detail and illustrated the need for more research which allows participants to put forward their own categorisations and conceptualisations. In addition it is clearly important to tackle the issue of how to begin to analyse and construct an understanding of both identity and interaction. By exposing these constructions and systems for making sense, it should be possible to find out about the structure of everyday thought and the way ideologies work. Hopefully, from this point, it will be possible to make clear the way towards social change.

APPENDICES

I IDENTITY Q SORT STATEMENTS

- 1 I don't see myself as sufficiently polished and professional to be a good lawyer.
- 2 It's reasonable that employers are reluctant to employ women as they will leave to have a family.
- 3 Sometimes when I think of myself as a lawyer I think of myself as more clever than other people.
- 4 To be a lawyer I would like to be appreciated not as a woman, not as a man but just as a lawyer, as someone who knows what the law is about.
- 5 As a lawyer I hope to work towards making the law less professional.
- 6 There is a need for women to go into law in order to create an image or a model of a woman lawyer in order for the face of law to change.
- 7 I ended up doing law as I couldn't think of anything else to do.
- 8 I'm not sure that women have the determination to get to the top of the legal profession
- 9 Sometimes I see myself as a professional, having having knowledge and ability.
- 10 I don't think there are any differences between male and female lawyers.
- 11 Ideally I hope to combine personal satisfaction from being a lawyer with an attempt to change it in some way.
- 12 I want to specialise in family law as I see it as a way of specifically helping women whether with divorce, child custody, domestic domestic or whatever.
- 13 I don't think I would cope very well with people relying on me.

- 14 You can't change the fact that if a woman is as good as a man applying for a job, the man will get it.
- 15 I like the idea of huge earning ability in certain areas of law.
- 16 I chose law as I saw it as a way of standing on my own two feet.
- 17 I think its important to try to change the class bias in law alongside the sexist bias.
- 18 I want to use my law training specifically to help women.
- 19 I find the competition in law offputting.
- 20 I think men may be more suited to the top positions in the legal profession.
- 21 I enjoy the respect others give you when you say you're a lawyer.
- 22 You'll only survive as a lawyer if you're prepared to accept the middle-class conservative values in law.
- 23 I'll continue with law even if I see a lot thats wrong with it because you're only able to do something about it if you're knowledgeable about what goes on.
- 24 The lip service that is paid to the fact that more than half the students are women does not mean that there's going to be a change in the male dominated attitudes of the legal profession.
- 25 I've got put off by the uncaring sort of attitude you're supposed to have, very cool, you don't think of people as people, just as clients.
- 26 I think women may not be able to disassociate themselves from a case as well as a man can.
- 27 I'm doing law for the purely practical reason of wanting a good job at the end.
- 28 I think of myself as a career woman.

- 29 As long as I feel that I'm making a small mark forming a part of the tiny group of people who stand against the reactionary law structure and values I'll feel that it's worth going on.
- 30 I think women have a lot of qualities that may make them better lawyers than men.
- 31 I have no burning desire to do law.
- 32 I think it's natural that a lot of women are most interested in family law.
- 33 I enjoy law as it exercises my mind.
- 34 There are so few women in law, particularly in the forefront of law, that they should see it as a challenge.
- 35 As a lawyer I want to make the law more accessible.
- 36 I want to combine my feminist principles with my practise as a lawyer.
- 37 I don't think I will continue with law.
- 38 I think it's inevitable that most women value settling down and having a family more than having a career.
- 39 For me, being a lawyer is a means of fulfilling all the things I want to do as far as job satisfaction is concerned.
- 40 I've always enjoyed being around with the opposite sex, including working with them, so as a lawyer I just see myself as one of them, no differences between us.
- 41 Part of the way towards changing the law is by treating people as you would like to be treated.
- 42 I want to use my law training in such a way that I don't have to repress the fact that I'm a woman.
- 43 I don't know how good a lawyer I'll make because I think I might be oversympathetic towards the client.

- 44 I'm doubtful of the mark women can make on the law BECAUSE they're women.
- 45 Being a lawyer gives me confidence.
- 46 Women have to be especially good if they want to get anywhere in law.
- 47 Lawyers must work together as a group towards changing the law and how it is practised, rather than individually.
- 48 I think that being a woman doing law is a step towards demystifying the law.
- 49 I think as a lawyer I might get too involved in the cases.
- 50 I think women may lack the necessary ambition to motivate them to succeed in law.
- 51 I like the idea of getting a certain degree of power.
- 52 Rather than thinking, can I do law for myself as a woman, I think, can I do law for myself.
- 53 At the moment I see law as a rich man's instrument and it seems to me that lawyers should be working towards making it a poor man's instrument as well.
- 54 I don't want to go into the law which is a male world, the epitome of male oriented society and accept that I've got to be a token female.
- 55 I think men may make better lawyers than women because they are more analytical.
- 56 I don't think women are able to remain sufficiently UNINVOLVED emotionally to make them REALLY good lawyers.
- 57 My image of myself as a lawyer is of someone who is very much in control of the work they're doing
- 58 My career is as important to me as it would be to a man.
- 59 I don't want to get pulled into the individualistic, powerclimbing attitude to law.

- 60 It's bad enough having legal problems as a woman without having an unpleasant experience with a lawyer who is very likely to be middle-class and male and who can't empathise with what you're talking about.
- 61 My identity as a woman is more important to me than my identity as a lawyer.

Statements 1, 7, 13, 19, 25, 31, 37, 43, 49 and 55 are all negative comments of self as lawyer in general terms.

Statements 2, 8, 14, 20, 26, 32, 44, 50 and 56 refer to women's deficiency as lawyers relative to men and are taken to be indicative of a status quo belief structure and negative gender identity.

Statements 3, 9, 15, 21, 27, 33, 39, 45, 51 and 57 were selected as individualistic reasons for doing law.

Statements 4, 10, 16, 22, 28, 34, 40, 46, 52 and 58 represent individualistic ways of coping with being a woman doing law, and therefore a social mobility perspective.

Statements 5, 11, 17, 23, 29, 35, 41, 47, 53 and 59 are taken as general social change statements.

Statements 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, 42, 48, 54 and 60 were selected to represent social change for women, a feminist perspective.

II INSTRUCTIONS FOR Q SORTS

SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SPEECH STYLE

Note on the Q sorting task

This is a technique designed to identify different belief structures. It is an open ended technique where alternative viewpoints are defined by the people participating in the research. The different belief structures emerge by way of the analysis which takes your responses and compares them with other people's responses, clustering together people who see things in a similar ways in terms of the statements which emerge for them as most salient. In order for this to work it is important to fill in the format exactly as it is set out for you, even if you find it annoying - otherwise the analysis will not work.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CARRYING OUT THE Q SORT

Please read these instructions carefully. it should take you about an hour to complete the Q sort and comment on the responses. You have been given a set of cards, sixty one in all, each with a statement written on it. You will need a large space where you can lay out all the cards - a space on the floor is probably the best place. By the time you finish you'll have up to nine rows of cards laid out. You can check the grid to see the format. Your task is to sort out the statements into a profile so that it roughly represents your beliefs. At the extreme ends of the layout there are just three spaces - here you will eventually place the three statements with which you feel strongest disagreement (on the left) and strongest agreement (on the right) with the columns in between representing less strongly held views. [While you are sorting the statements concentrate on the context of your interaction as a solicitor, with a client, in an office situation.]*

It is probably best to start by going through the pack and sorting the cards into roughly three piles

A	B	C
Those with which I disagree	Don't know Ambivalent Indifferent Don't understand	Those with which I agree

You can change cards from pile to pile as many times as you want at any point during your sort.

Next, lay out the markers in front of you working from -5 at the far left

through 0 to +5 on the far right. Your task is now to gradually refine your degree of agreement/disagreement by placing the statements further to your left the more you disagree with them. Please make sure that you fill in the grid in the right order. Two factors are important here. First is the extent of your agreement and disagreement. Second, where a decision gets hard as to where to place a specific statement, take into account the salience of importance of the statement to your beliefs - place those strongest where the issue is one that concerns you.

If you find that there are more statements that you agree with than disagree, or vice versa, please put a line on the grid and an arrow showing where your disagreement starts and your agreement ends.

There are several different ways of actually carrying out the sort. you could start with the side you prefer and first choose the three statements for the most extreme category, and then lay those out and start on the next pile (four statements) and so on. You must discriminate between the columns, each shift to the middle indicates lessening of agreement/disagreement. You are not expected to order statements within the column, the analysis gives them equal weighting.

When you have completed your sort it should look like the diagram below.

[illegible]

Sometimes the choices will be difficult and you may feel that what you are doing is a bit arbitrary. Don't worry, as long as it broadly represents your beliefs, that is what is important. Once you have laid out all the cards as you want them please use the spaces on page three and write the numbers of the statements in each cell of the grid. Please stick to the right numbers of statements in each cell of the grid or the computer will simply reject the data when I feed it in.

You will find a blankspace following the grid. In this space I would like you to comment on how you responded to carrying out the Q sorting task. FIRST, I would like you to comment on your general feelings about this technique, for example whether you found it hard, boring, or interesting and why, and whether you felt it represented your beliefs and attitudes adequately -whether there were any statements you felt were missing.

SECOND, I would like you to comment on the statements themselves.

THIRD, I would like you to comment or explain any reasons for how you made your choice in terms of where you placed particular statements, for example where you felt a statement was ambiguous and how you finally decided to interpret it and place it on the grid.

FINALLY any further comments or criticisms are welcome here.

Once you have filled in the grid and completed the comments you want to make please return the Q sorts and the response sheets to me

Harriette Marshall, The Psychology Department,
7, George Square, Edinburgh

Please return them as quickly as possible as they have to be passed on to another subject. Thank you very much for your help

III IDENTITY Q SORT FACTOR LOADINGS

Subject number	Factor number										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	**	31	36	02	19	39	08	01	23	-01	13
2		-28	08	-41	-09	36	15	43	-04	-34	-21
3		06	59	46	-12	04	17	04	-14	04	-14
4		40	08	28	03	08	17	01	09	67	07
5		11	14	-15	74*	10	16	-03	02	-13	02
6		75*	10	06	39	04	-10	07	-04	04	01
7		13	33	33	15	19	15	15	-01	31	-27
8		38	63*	00	17	12	12	22	17	-04	-01
9		28	54*	07	12	28	16	11	10	18	14
10		-15	30	51	39	-07	14	-16	49	-23	15
11		-05	-06	06	02	09	11	04	65*	03	-01
12		13	22	18	10	24	16	36	-04	05	46
13		06	20	-09	00	07	-04	68*	13	01	07
14		04	29	-01	01	-07	70*	16	21	07	-03
15		79*	16	13	26	-09	-22	-14	-05	-08	-04
16		42	38	-08	17	41	03	20	-02	12	09
17		44	41	-21	31	-02	-06	19	03	32	-10
18		-16	29	37	-37	-28	42	17	11	24	08
19		67*	34	-01	25	-02	10	13	08	07	37
20		10	23	-42	41	39	06	04	21	02	-12
21		23	62*	-12	33	05	00	13	03	-03	06
22		01	15	-50	00	21	17	07	42	06	-18
23		37	45	-03	52	06	06	08	13	23	-09
24		47	16	02	63	05	13	-03	00	23	08
25		-05	02	17	17	-01	76*	-13	09	01	09
26		56	43	-09	10	10	15	-10	05	08	20
27		-08	01	00	-06	35	44	40	-11	12	-06
28		30	54	-21	02	25	07	20	-16	00	22
29		66	26	-41	-12	00	10	05	-02	28	28
30		71*	19	-20	-15	17	05	06	-07	-02	07
31		88*	07	-13	09	01	-10	03	-01	05	06
32		59	20	03	17	39	05	11	12	22	06
33		36	30	03	08	-28	-04	37	55	14	09
34		02	09	-11	07	74*	-05	04	06	02	02
35		16	31	-47	34	45	-14	20	-06	-04	04
36		18	30	-54	27	42	20	27	02	-04	05
37		53	50	-26	07	03	16	-07	28	29	-11
38		-19	-03	82*	-12	-07	11	-12	07	16	03
39		06	06	83*	-05	02	07	09	10	04	-02
40		-21	-10	33	-56	-01	36	08	08	-19	-27

* refers to defining subjects

****Decimal points omitted from factor loadings which are corrected to 2 significant figures (eg 0.6752 reads 68)**

IV CALCULATING FACTOR ARRAYS

Factor arrays were calculated following the procedure set out below, using factor six of the Identity Q sort study described in chapter three as an example.

First, factor weight (W) is computed for each defining sort, as illustrated in Table 4.1. The raw scores for each defining sort are then multiplied by the factor weight and the products added to derive totals (T) from which Z scores are calculated such that

$$Z = \frac{T - \bar{X} T}{\sigma T}$$

as shown in table 4.2. These Z scores are then converted to rounded scores, as shown in the far right column of table 4.2, by assigning the score "+5" to the lowest Z scores (items 4, 17 and 53 with the values of -2.14, -1.90 and -1.66 respectively), "+4" to the four next lowest (items 23, 27, 35 and 47 with the values of -1.47, -1.76, -1.57 and -1.47 respectively) and so on, until the score "-5" is assigned to the three highest scores (items 9, 28 and 51 with Z scores of 1.73, 1.78 and 1.78 respectively). In this thesis it is these rounded scores that are reported as they conform to the format in which the data were originally collected.

Table 4.1 Computation of Factor Weights For Defining Q Sorts numbers 14 and 25, Factor 6 of the Identity Q sort Study. (Chapter Three.)

S	f	$W = \frac{f}{1-f^2}$	$\left \frac{1}{W_L} \right $	$W \left \frac{1}{W_L} \right $	W Rounded X 10
14	70	1.37		.76	8
25	76	1.79	.5586	1.00	10

S = Q sort number

f = factor loading (see Table III)

W = Weight

W_L = largest factor weight

TABLE 4.2 Calculations for factor 6 Array,
Identity Q Sort Study (Chapter 3)

Q Sort Weight	14 8	25 10	TOTAL (T)		$Z^{(2)}$	Rounded $Z^{(5)}$
Q Sort Number	Raw data (in brackets) x weight					
1	(5)	40	(2)	20	60	-1.14 +3
2	(8)	36	(10)	100	136	0.68 -2
3	(10)	80	(6)	60	140	0.78 -2
4	(1)	80	(1)	10	18	-2.14 -2
5	(7)	56	(5)	50	106	-0.04 0
6	(7)	56	(5)	50	106	-0.04 0
7	(4)	32	(4)	40	72	-0.85 +2
8	(5)	40	(8)	80	120	0.30 -1
9	(10)	80	(10)	100	180	1.73 -5
10	(6)	48	(6)	60	108	0.01 0
11	(2)	16	(5)	50	66	-0.99 +3
12	(8)	64	(6)	60	124	0.39 -1
13	(4)	32	(4)	40	72	-0.68 +2
14	(5)	40	(9)	90	130	0.54 -1
15	(3)	24	(3)	30	54	-1.28 3
16	(4)	32	(7)	70	102	-0.13 0
17	(1)	8	(2)	20	28	-1.90 5
18	(11)	88	(8)	80	168	1.45 -3
19	(4)	32	(4)	40	72	-0.85 2
20	(6)	48	(5)	50	98	-0.23 1
21	(9)	72	(7)	70	142	0.82 -2
22	(3)	24	(6)	60	84	-0.56 2
23	(2)	16	(3)	30	46	-1.47 4
24	(5)	40	(6)	60	100	-0.18 1
25	(6)	48	(5)	50	98	-0.23 1
26	(7)	56	(2)	20	76	-0.75 2
27	(3)	24	(1)	10	34	-1.76 4
28	(9)	72	(11)	110	182	1.78 -5
29	(5)	40	(9)	90	130	0.54 -2
30	(10)	80	(3)	30	110	0.06 0
31	(3)	24	(6)	60	84	-0.56 2
32	(5)	40	(2)	20	60	-1.14 3
33	(6)	48	(7)	70	118	0.25 -1
34	(2)	16	(5)	50	66	-0.99 3
35	(4)	32	(1)	10	42	-1.57 4
36	(11)	88	(9)	90	178	1.69 -4
37	(9)	72	(7)	70	142	0.82 -3
38	(3)	24	(6)	60	84	-0.56 1
39	(8)	64	(5)	50	114	0.15 0
40	(6)	48	(4)	40	88	-0.46 1
41	(5)	40	(6)	60	100	-0.18 1
42	(6)	48	(8)	80	128	0.48 -1
43	(7)	56	(4)	40	96	-0.28 1
44	(6)	48	(7)	70	118	0.25 -1

45	(8)	64	(11)	110	172	1.59	-4
46	(6)	48	(8)	80	128	0.49	-1
47	(2)	16	(3)	30	46	-1.47	4
48	(10)	80	(9)	90	170	1.49	-3
49	(7)	56	(4)	40	96	-0.28	1
50	(4)	32	(8)	80	112	0.11	0
51	(9)	72	(11)	110	182	1.78	-5
52	(5)	40	(9)	90	130	0.54	-2
53	(1)	8	(3)	30	38	-1.66	5
54	(7)	56	(7)	70	126	0.44	-1
55	(11)	88	(6)	60	148	0.97	-3
56	(8)	64	(5)	50	114	0.15	0
57	(7)	56	(10)	100	156	1.56	-4
58	(8)	84	(7)	70	134	0.63	-2
59	(6)	48	(7)	70	118	0.25	0
60	(9)	72	(8)	80	152	1.06	-3
61	(7)	56	(10)	100	156	1.56	-4

SUM 6560
 XT 107.54
 oT 41.79

(1) For ease of computing, the original scores (from -5 to +5) are transformed to positive integers (from 11 to 1): this reduces coding errors and has no effect on the analysis (cf Brown 1980)

(2) $Z = \frac{T - XT}{oT}$ where T = total, X = mean and O = standard deviation

(3) According to the distribution:

Score	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Frequency	3	4	5	6	8	9	8	6	5	4	3

V WEIGHTED Q SORT IDENTITY FACTORS

Statement	Factors							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	0	-1	0	-4	1	3	-5	-2
2	5	-4	4	3	3	-2	-2	2
3	-2	-3	-5	-1	3	-2	1	3
4	2	5	0	4	2	5	4	4
5	2	-2	0	2	-1	0	-4	-1
6	5	0	-3	2	-2	0	2	0
7	-3	-2	-2	-5	3	2	-1	5
8	-1	-3	1	-5	-4	-1	2	-4
9	0	3	-5	-4	2	-5	3	2
10	-4	1	-4	0	2	0	-4	3
11	4	3	-1	5	1	3	0	-4
12	1	-1	3	-1	1	-1	-1	0
13	-3	-3	1	-3	-2	2	-5	1
14	-1	-2	3	-2	1	-1	-1	-2
15	-1	-4	-1	2	2	3	0	-5
16	0	1	-1	3	-1	0	3	1
17	4	0	-1	2	-2	5	0	1
18	3	-4	0	0	-1	-3	-3	-1
19	-2	0	5	-1	2	2	-3	0
20	-4	-5	0	0	-5	1	-1	-1
21	-1	-5	1	-1	5	-2	3	3
22	-1	-1	-3	0	0	2	0	-3
23	2	4	-3	1	-1	4	0	0
24	4	1	1	-3	1	1	5	-1
25	0	0	0	-1	0	1	-1	1
26	-2	-2	2	-1	-4	2	0	-3
27	-2	2	-2	5	3	4	-4	4
28	1	0	-4	-4	2	-5	3	-5
29	1	1	-2	-2	-3	-2	2	0
30	2	1	2	1	1	0	-1	2
31	-2	-1	-2	4	-4	2	1	5
32	1	-2	5	0	-1	3	1	4
33	1	2	0	5	5	-1	-1	-2
34	-1	4	-2	-2	0	3	4	0
35	3	5	1	4	-1	4	0	0
36	5	-3	-4	0	-2	-4	-4	-4
37	-4	-3	2	-5	-5	-3	1	1
38	-5	-1	5	0	4	1	3	4
39	0	3	0	4	5	0	-1	-1
40	-3	2	-2	4	-3	1	4	1
41	2	2	4	1	0	1	5	-2
42	4	4	3	0	-1	-1	1	2
43	-5	0	3	-3	-2	1	-2	-3
44	-2	0	2	-2	-2	-1	-2	1

45	0	2	-3	1	4	4	5	1
46	3	1	1	-2	-1	-1	2	-1
47	1	5	-2	3	-1	4	4	0
48	1	1	2	2	-3	-3	-3	-2
49	-3	0	4	-4	2	1	0	-3
50	-1	-1	3	0	-4	0	1	2
51	0	-1	-5	2	-3	-5	2	-1
52	-1	4	1	0	0	-2	-3	-1
53	2	0	1	3	4	5	-2	3
54	0	3	-1	-3	-3	-1	-5	3
55	-4	-4	-1	1	-5	-3	-3	-4
56	-3	-5	2	-3	-3	0	-2	-3
57	0	-2	-1	1	1	-4	0	-2
58	2	3	-4	3	3	-2	1	-5
59	3	-1	0	-1	2	0	2	5
60	5	2	-1	-1	1	-3	0	2
61	3	1	4	-2	0	-4	-2	0

APPENDIX VI SPEECH Q SORT STATEMENTS

- 1 Dealing with a client involves being first of all sympathetic.
- 2 I certainly wouldn't expect a lawyer to assume they knew best and deliver a monologue to their client.
- 3 A good lawyer must be able to argue a case with sarcasm and wit.
- 4 You must choose your words carefully as a lawyer.
- 5 You have to loose your emotions as a lawyer.
- 6 You have to be determined in the way you interact as a lawyer.
- 7 In law it's important to use your language properly and have good grammar.
- 8 I think you have to be articulate in some situations in the capacity of a lawyer but it's certainly not all that is needed.
- 9 It's important to combine "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics in law.
- 10 As a lawyer you must be able to express yourself well.
- 11 You must never let your personal views come through as a lawyer.
- 12 As a lawyer you have to be able to adopt a debating style.
- 13 There is a need for "feminine" speech characteristics to be emphasised in law.
- 14 It's important not to be dominating as a lawyer.
- 15 Changing speech styles to one appropriate to law is no more difficult than a normal change in speech from situation to situation.
- 16 As a lawyer you must be decisive.
- 17 You won't make a lawyer if you can't be assertive.

- 18 First of all you must be logical to be a lawyer.
- 19 Its important to be polite as a lawyer.
- 20 The place for showing assertion is with other lawyers, not with clients.
- 21 Interacting as a lawyer is like learning a new way of speaking.
- 22 You must be very shrewd to be a lawyer.
- 23 You have to protect yourself as a lawyer by NOT being too open.
- 24 You have to be competitive when interacting as a lawyer.
- 25 It is very important to listen carefully and give the client time to speak.
- 26 You should make a point of NOT interrupting a client.
- 27 I think of dealing with a client as being like a business transaction.
- 28 When interacting with a client its very important to be relaxed.
- 29 You mustn't sound too enthusiastic as a lawyer.
- 30 Its very important to look at things objectively in law.
- 31 As a lawyer you must be friendly.
- 32 You shouldn't speak forcefully as a lawyer.
- 33 I see the interaction of a lawyer with his or her client as being like counselling someone, only its a bit more formal.
- 34 An important part of being a lawyer is getting information out of people, finding out exactly what they mean and what they want.
- 35 You shouldn't use too much detail when interacting as a lawyer.
- 36 As a lawyer I think you have to be fairly cold

and detached.

- 37 As a lawyer you should show concern for your client.
- 38 A good lawyer shouldn't be argumentative.
- 39 Cases should be won according to WHAT is being said rather than how it is said.
- 40 Sometimes a lawyer's speech needs to be dramatic and flamboyant.
- 41 You won't make a good lawyer unless you can maintain control of interactions.
- 42 A lawyer must be persuasive.
- 43 Being encouraging is important, giving a client confidence.
- 44 A good lawyer does not need to interact in such a way that it involves putting others down.
- 45 I think its important to encourage clients to ask questions and to check that they understand.
- 46 If I want to be a successful lawyer I'll have to learn to twist words and manipulate the situation
- 47 If you're not a confident speaker you won't make a good lawyer.
- 48 To succeed in law you have to be analytical.
- 49 Its important to emphasise the supportive side of being a lawyer.
- 50 Theres too much emphasis laid on public speaking skills, other forms of speech are equally important.
- 51 I think a lot of lawyers are guilty of complicating things so that clients come out feeling more baffled than when they went in.
- 52 A good lawyer is one who can "hold the floor".
- 53 You shouldn't be too gentle when interacting with a client.

- 54 To be a good lawyer a woman must adopt "masculine" speech characteristics or she won't get anywhere.
- 55 A good lawyer must be patient.
- 56 A good lawyer should not use commanding speech.
- 57 A lawyer should be humorous.
- 58 Sometimes it is necessary to admit that you are uncertain about something to a client.
- 59 As a lawyer you shouldn't smile too much.
- 60 A lawyer must be straight to the point.
- 61 A lawyer should be well-spoken.

Statements 6, 16, 18, 24, 30, 36, 42, 48, 52 and 60 are all positive comments about "masculine" speech stereotypical characteristics.

Statements 2, 8, 14, 20, 26, 32, 38, 44, 50 and 56 are all negative comments about "masculine" speech.

Statements 1, 7, 19, 25, 31, 37, 43, 49, 55 and 58 are all positive comments about "feminine" stereotypical speech.

Statements 5, 11, 17, 23, 29, 35, 41, 47, 53 and 59 are all negative comments about "feminine" speech.

Statements 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 21, 22, 27, 28, 33, 34, 39, 40, 45, 46, 51, 54, 57 and 61 are all statements about "neutral" speech characteristics.

VII SPEECH Q SORT FACTOR LOADINGS

Subject number	Factor Loadings						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	**35	37	31	31	33	11	-14
2	-30	-11	14	02	-06	54	41
3	18	22	50	19	13	27	09
4	75*	33	36	01	10	18	08
5	13	18	78*	05	13	39	14
6	74*	08	23	20	18	13	-20
7	23	34	37	22	09	-09	32
8	22	63*	08	27	26	22	10
9	39	47	39	46	14	06	-11
10	49	61	26	09	14	-02	-01
11	15	16	18	24	77*	17	-13
12	36	46	23	31	32	18	-04
13	48	12	04	12	26	38	14
14	37	50	33	02	04	10	-20
15	81*	22	-04	16	13	-10	-21
16	47	24	43	31	15	23	-02
17	29	07	41	70*	14	00	-01
18	33	25	49	18	19	14	-07
19	51	41	21	40	24	22	-26
20	39	25	55	39	14	12	-01
21	32	66*	30	33	15	11	-06
22	19	23	42	21	01	29	34
23	20	22	51	39	10	09	-05
24	46	35	10	34	25	05	-25
25	54	58	32	13	17	-06	10
26	44	37	18	54	12	17	-18
27	09	25	25	65*	26	29	08
28	-11	10	17	16	11	69*	20
29	-01	-01	52	30	13	51	16
30	71	22	18	26	-07	-29	-26
31	73*	17	05	14	05	-17	-38
32	70	09	13	28	03	16	20
33	10	20	12	11	94*	03	-04
34	19	14	24	01	06	66*-18	
35	-10	06	15	02	-03	25	71*
36	36	26	05	46	23	10	13
37	46	16	33	37	42	-10	-06
38	79*	30	12	-04	06	-12	-30
39	69	37	23	27	17	-07	-05
40	-38	-20	-08	-13	-18	-09	60

* refers to defining subjects

** Decimal points omitted from loadings which are correct to 2 significant figures (eg 0.2643 reads 27)

APPENDIX VIII SPEECH Q SORT WEIGHTINGS

Statement Number	Factor numbers						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	5	2	-2	-2	-3	-1	-1
2	-2	2	-2	3	-2	0	-2
3	-3	-2	-3	-5	4	3	0
4	1	1	1	5	1	3	0
5	-4	0	-2	-3	-3	-2	-1
6	0	0	0	-1	-3	0	4
7	-1	2	0	2	0	5	-3
8	2	4	1	4	5	-1	0
9	3	-2	-5	-1	-1	-4	-3
10	1	3	4	4	4	5	-3
11	-5	0	0	1	1	-4	2
12	-2	-4	-1	-1	0	1	-2
13	2	-4	-5	-2	-1	-3	-4
14	3	5	-3	-1	-1	0	-1
15	0	2	2	0	0	-4	-2
16	0	3	5	1	4	3	4
17	-1	-2	3	1	-3	1	5
18	-1	0	5	3	-5	1	2
19	0	4	0	1	0	0	1
20	1	-1	1	-3	0	-2	-3
21	-1	-2	-3	-2	-4	-3	1
22	-2	-1	3	0	0	4	5
23	-4	-3	-1	0	1	-1	3
24	-3	-3	-1	-4	-2	-3	3
25	5	5	1	4	3	2	3
26	4	-5	-1	-3	1	-1	1
27	-3	-4	-1	-4	-5	-1	-5
28	1	1	0	2	-1	1	0
29	-2	-1	-4	-2	2	-1	0
30	0	1	5	2	1	1	3
31	2	-1	1	0	-1	2	1
32	0	-3	-3	-4	-2	-2	-4
33	5	-3	1	0	-1	-3	-5
34	3	-1	2	5	1	2	-1
35	0	0	-4	-1	3	-1	2
36	-5	-5	-4	-3	-4	-4	-3
37	4	4	2	-1	4	2	-1
38	1	0	-1	-4	5	-2	-2
39	2	3	1	4	3	-1	1
40	-3	-2	-2	0	0	-5	0
41	-1	2	3	1	0	0	3
42	-1	-1	4	2	0	5	0
43	3	2	2	1	-1	-2	1
44	4	3	3	3	2	0	0

45	3	5	2	5	2	2	-1
46	-4	-5	-2	-5	1	0	-4
47	-5	-4	3	0	-2	2	2
48	0	1	4	3	5	1	2
49	4	1	1	0	-3	0	-5
50	1	1	0	3	2	1	-4
51	1	-3	-1	2	-4	-1	-1
52	-4	1	-2	-5	-4	3	4
53	-3	0	-2	1	1	-5	0
54	-2	-2	-5	-1	-5	-5	4
55	2	4	0	-1	3	0	1
56	1	0	0	-2	-2	-3	-2
57	-1	0	-4	1	-2	3	2
58	2	1	-1	0	2	2	-5
59	-2	0	-3	-2	-1	-2	1
60	0	3	4	-3	2	4	-1
61	-1	-1	0	2	3	4	-2

IX INTERVIEW FORMAT

- 1 How did you decide that you wanted to be a lawyer?
- 2 Is it as you imagined?
- 3 How well do you think you are doing?
- 4 How do you evaluate how well you are doing?
- 5 What area in law particularly interests you?
- 6 How do you envisage using your law training?
- 7 How do you see yourself as a lawyer?
- 8 How would you describe a good lawyer?
- 9 How would you like to be seen as a lawyer?
- 10 If you imagine yourself interacting with a client, what do you think is the best way for you to speak?
- 11 Is this how you would normally interact
- 12 Are there other ways for a lawyer to interact with a client?
- 13 Do you consider these other forms of interaction to be appropriate in law? Why?
- 14 Would you like to see the law change in any way?
- 15 Do you think that more women going into law will bring about change? In what ways?
- 16 Do you think women and men lawyers are essentially different or similar? In what ways?
- 17 How important is your career to you?
- 18 What other things are important to you?
- 19 How do these things fit in with your work?
- 20 What other plans or hopes do you have for the future?
- 21 Do you have any questions you would like to ask me?

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